

THE ARENA

A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



Secretary Root and Centralization

By DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS

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NEWS OF THE ARENA CLUBS AND OTHER MOVEMENTS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRACY

DIRECTORY OF ARENA CLUBS.

The New Orleans Arena Club.

*President, Mrs. J. M. FERGUSON.
Vice-President, Mrs. HERMAN J. SEIFERTH.
Secretary, Miss MARGARET C. HANSON.
Treasurer, Mrs. WALTER W. JANIN.*

This Club was formed in June, 1892.
The club meets every Monday evening, except during the three summer months, at its rooms, 1536 Clio street, New Orleans, La.

First Arena Club of Denver.

*President, Hon. J. WARNER MILLS.
Vice-President, Dr. S. T. McDERMITH.
Secretary, Mrs. V. D. HYDE-VOGL.*

The Club meets the first and third Monday of each month, at 712 Kittredge Building, Denver, Col.

The Arena Club of Olathe, Colorado.

*President, TABOR G. HERBUM.
Secretary, F. E. ASHBURN.*

The Club meets the first, third and fifth Monday evenings of each month.

The Arena Club of Oswego, Kansas.

*President, JOHN E. COOK.
Secretary, JOHN S. CLARKE.
Treasurer, C. D. CARRELL.*

The Club meets the first and third Wednesday evenings of each month in the City Library Building.

The Arena Club of The State Normal School, Valley City, N. D.

*President, Miss SENNEY NEETROST.
Secretary, Miss GRACE FARLEY.*

The Club meets the first and third Mondays of the month.

The Arena Club of Medina, Ohio.

*President, Hon. A. MUNSON.
Vice-President, O. K. HEWES.
Secretary, R. CALVERT.
Treasurer, H. W. ADAMS.*

The Arena Club of Dubois, Pa.

*President, W. H. DONALSON.
Vice-President, F. J. HOPKINS.
Secretary, WILLIAM LOCKYER, 518 Maple avenue.
Treasurer, W. H. WAITE.
Librarian, WM. LOCKYER.*

The Club meets every Thursday evening at the United Mine Workers' Office, on Brady street.

The Arena Club of Pond Creek, Oklahoma.

*President, F. G. WALLING.
Vice-President, P. W. ZEIGLER.
Secretary and Treasurer, J. A. ALDERSON.*

The Club meets second Tuesday of each month until September, and then the second and fourth Tuesday of each month.

Place of meeting, Court Room of Court House.

The Arena Club of Chicago, Illinois.

*President, LARNED E. MEACHAM.
Vice-President, Miss L. L. KILBOURN.
Secretary, Miss KENNARD.
Treasurer, JAS. P. CADMAN.*

The Club meets the second Friday of every month.

A MODEL ARENA CLUB CONSTITUTION.

WE FREQUENTLY receive requests from friends interested in the Arena Club movement and other systematic efforts to advance the cause of fundamental democracy through societies or organizations, for outlines of constitutions for clubs. The Chicago Arena Club has adopted a constitution that impresses us as being a model instrument, and it affords us pleasure to reproduce it in full below. We suggest that it be taken as a guide by friends interested in the Arena Club work in other localities:

CONSTITUTION OF THE ARENA CLUB OF CHICAGO.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

The name of this organization shall be The Arena Club of Chicago.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECT.

The object of this club shall be to advance the cause of Direct-Legislation as embodied in the Initiative, the Referendum and other kindred methods; the practical and effective remedies for preserving the democracy of the Declaration of Independence.

It shall coöperate, in the advancement of its object, with similar organizations elsewhere and with the magazine after which the club is named.

ARTICLE III.—MEMBERSHIP.

Any person may become a member when duly elected. All applications for membership shall be filed with the Secretary and voted upon at next meeting following that at which application is presented.

Each member shall pay as annual dues the sum of \$2.50 which shall include a paid subscription to the ARENA magazine. Dues may be paid semi-annually if desired.

ARTICLE IV.—OFFICERS.

The officers shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, all of whom shall be chosen annually and shall perform the duties usually pertaining to such offices.

ARTICLE V.—COMMITTEES.

There shall be three standing committees to be known as the Literature Committee, the Lecture Committee, and the Executive Committee.

The Literature Committee shall consist of three members and shall have charge of the selection, preparation and distribution of all printed matter as the club may direct.

The Lecture Committee shall consist of three members and shall have charge of all public meetings and speaking assignments that the club may sanction.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the elected officers and committee chairman and shall have the usual supervision of the affairs of the club. The other committees shall report to it from time to time or when called upon so to do. The Executive Committee shall

The News of The Arena Clubs and Other Movements.

have power to represent the club by delegate or otherwise in any coöperative work that may require attention during interim between regular meetings, and shall report all actions to the next meeting of the club.

ARTICLE VI.—MEETINGS.

The regular meetings for the election of officers and committees shall occur on the second Fridays of April and October, in accordance with due notice mailed to each member of the club. Monthly meetings shall be held on the second Friday of each month. Special meetings may be called at any time by the President and two members of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII.—AMENDMENTS.

This constitution may be amended at any regular meeting by a two-thirds vote provided notice of the amendment shall have been given at a previous regular meeting.

THE CHICAGO ARENA CLUB.

The Chicago Arena Club is in splendid working order and is inaugurating a vigorous campaign of education and agitation for the advancement of good government and the spread of the gospel of fundamental democracy. All the new officers are full of enthusiasm and are so deeply interested in the work that we predict that this club will become a powerful factor in the great battle that from now on must be waged in Chicago against corrupt and immensely rich forces that are entrenched in almost every point of vantage in the city. Such clubs as this, formed in every city and town, would soon inaugurate a democratic renaissance that would speedily arouse the moral energies of the whole nation and result in the early overthrow of the plutocracy and the driving from the temple of government of those who have betrayed the people and prostituted government to the service of insatiable greed.

THE DENVER ARENA CLUB.

At a recent meeting of the Denver Arena Club, Captain W. W. Bates, one of the valued contributors of this review and the author of the two most exhaustive and able works published on our merchant marine, delivered a deeply thoughtful address on the ship-subsidy proposition, after which a general and interesting discussion took place.

We learn with deep regret that the Hon. J. Warner Mills, president of the Arena Club, has found it necessary to go to California for a time for his health, but trust that the genial climate of the land of flowers will speedily restore him.

THE ARENA CLUB OF VALLEY CITY, NORTH DAKOTA.

One of the strongest and most active of our Arena Clubs is composed of students of the State Normal School of Valley City, North Dakota. It was reorganized after the opening of the school term with a large membership of thoughtful young men and women pledged to the cause of fundamental democracy through the introduction of the initiative and referendum. This club has arranged a course of study and discussion embracing among other vital and live questions the following: the trust problem; the income tax; the inheritance tax; our relations with Japan; the currency problem; the ship subsidy; and increase in military equipments.

THE ARENA CLUB OF DUBOIS, PENNSYLVANIA.

The Arena Club movement is adapted to all classes of citizens. Wherever men and women are found thoughtful enough to recognize the perils that face free government and the cause of justice for all the people, and are great and patriotic enough to do their duty, there should be Arena Clubs or similar organizations formed to interest the people in Direct-Legislation and reinaugurate the old-time love for the principles of the Declaration of Independence—the principles that were uppermost in the hearts of Jefferson and Lincoln. Our notes this month deal with three typical Arena Clubs; that of Denver, a wide-awake, earnest organization battling in a great city and battling aggressively and with superb spirit and patriotism for the objects so clearly set forth in its constitution; the Arena Club of Valley City, composed of young people attending the State Normal School—young people who will soon go forth as teachers, sowers of the seeds of thought and moulders of the minds of the young. They are earnest, typical young Americans who appreciate the great solemn and glorious opportunity that will be theirs, and by the active and whole-hearted interest they are taking in the Arena Club movement it is evident that they will do splendid work in the future for fundamental democracy. The third typical club is that of Dubois, Pennsylvania. This organization is composed chiefly of miners, who have far less time than they should have for study and thought,—far less time than they would have if the toilers had not so long abandoned the government to corrupt bosses and political managers of party machines, who are under the complete domination of equally corrupt and corrupting privileged and exploiting corporations and trusts. The men who compose the Dubois Club are earnest, patriotic citizens. They worked manfully during the last election to get out a solid labor vote for the election of men pledged to the principles of fundamental democracy through Direct-Legislation, and though they did not succeed in electing their men, the vote was so large as to give them great encouragement and lead them to believe that in the next contest they will be victors; and during this waiting time they are doing what every patriotic citizen should do—banding together to educate and agitate.

FELLOWSHIP SONGS.

We wish again to call the attention of our Arena Club friends to *Fellowship Songs*, compiled by Ralph Albertson. Now for the first time in the history of progressive democratic and social reform in America we have a popular song-book in which are brought together the finest and most inspiring and uplifting poems and songs written by the greatest prophet-poets of the people and set to appropriate and moving music. Mr. Albertson has worked on this book for over a year, but the results of his labors are richly worth the while. Instead of our usual poems in this department we give this month the words of some of the songs found in this new book.

The price of *Fellowship Songs* is only twenty-five cents. Orders will be filled at our Boston office. Every Arena Club should possess several copies of the book and it would greatly increase interest in the meetings if a glee club should be formed in each society. They could then not only sing these songs of progress, fellowship and democracy at the regular meetings, but could render great service when large public meetings were held.

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Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

JOAQUIN MILLER

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

The Arena

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THE RAILWAY EXPERIENCE OF GERMANY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.

PART I.

FOR HALF a century Germany tried private-ownership and operation of railways, most of the time operating public roads also, and after a long experience with the private system by itself, and later with the two systems working side by side for over thirty years, the German people, including the business classes, became thoroughly convinced that public-ownership and operation was the true policy. So, twenty-five years ago Germany decided to nationalize her railroad system. The reasons and results constitute one of the most important chapters in railroad history, and even an outline sketch of them is of vital interest to everyone who has an appetite for facts and principles relating to the great questions of the day.

In Prussia, which contains two-thirds of the area and nearly two-thirds of the population of the German Empire, the first railway was successfully projected in 1832. Till 1848 the railroads were left to private enterprise, subject to thorough government regulation. In 1848 the State began to build and in 1879 a definite decision was reached in favor of public roads.

The Prussian railway laws of 1838 and subsequent years, carefully regulated the granting of charters, the capitalization, taxation and operation of the road, to protect so far as possible the public interests. But with all its power, the German government found it impossible to prevent the companies from making unjust discriminations and the division of the railways into many different managements seriously interfered with the efficiency of the transportation system.

In 1872 the German Handelstag, representing the United Chambers of Commerce, petitioned for Government management of all the railways to secure greater unity and efficiency and to stop the abuses of the private railways. They said in part: "The character of the railways as trade undertakings based on monopoly is contrary to the idea of their institution for the public good, and has the actual effect of making the railway administration the absolute masters of the public. . . . Competition does not protect the public against monopolist oppression; the railway companies easily resolve themselves into a coalition of those interested in the monopoly. . . . A comprehensive reform can only be hoped for when all the railways of Germany are

managed as one system and subject to the condition that this administration, like the Post, should offer that guarantee of regard for the public interest which no written law would ever succeed in infusing into private railways. It is only the State which could afford such a guarantee, and for this reason the transfer of the whole railway system to the State is necessary."

In 1873 Germany was afflicted with a grievous panic, which, like the American crisis of the same year, was mainly caused by the speculative over-construction of railways in previous years. It was substantially a railroad panic. The same year Lasker, a member of the Prussian Parliament, made serious charges against the private roads. A legislative investigation followed in which the moral rottenness of the private railways was fully exposed—the political pressure they used to get their franchises; the conscienceless discriminations they practiced between persons and places; the arbitrary use of industrial power to build up one and tear down another; the absence of any effort to make rates either absolutely or relatively reasonable, except so far as public control may have intervened; the abuse of power for private purposes; the utter disregard of the public interest wherever it conflicted with the private interest of the railways—all these tendencies or laws of action were revealed and masses of facts in relation

to them brought to light. The commission reported in favor of an exclusive system of State railways, saying that it could not be realized at once, but "on economic considerations" and other grounds "such a system is the final goal to be striven for."

In 1874, Albert von Maybach, "the man with the snowplow jaw," became the head of the Railway Department. He and Bismarck, backed by the chambers of commerce and other business interests, worked together for the unification and socialization of the railways. Political and commercial forces joined in the movement, believing that the nationalization of railroads was both politically and industrially wise. The railway question in the seventies was the principal question in Germany, as it was until 1905 in Italy, and in Switzerland, for a number of years preceding the referendum of 1898, and has been in recent years in France and America. The Germans dealt with the problem with a thoroughness far exceeding anything that has yet been seen in this country or England or France in relation to this matter. And Prussia had the advantage of many years' experience with a well-developed system of State railways nearly as extensive as the private railways, affording a basis for domestic comparison which we do not possess.

State-ownership was advocated mainly on economic and political grounds.*

*It has been affirmed by some who, without investigating the facts, assumed that Prussian policy was simply military policy, that the railways were nationalized in order to give the government more strength in time of war. This argument did have weight; but the main emphasis was laid, even by Bismarck himself, on the economic arguments: the necessity of abolishing discriminations, eliminating the waste of competitive roads and administering the railways in the interest of all instead of for the profit of a few. This is, indeed, admitted even by writers least likely to give the Prussian policy any undue credit for breadth and balance. Hadley says, speaking of the evils of discrimination: "It is characteristic that Bismarck, who always chose his fighting-ground with skill, made this a main base of operations in his contest against private railroad policy in Prussia," (*Railroad Transportation*, p. 120.) And Hugo Meyer says: "One

of the principal reasons that led the Prussian Diet, in 1879, to accept the Government's proposal to enter upon the policy of acquiring by purchase or by lease the private railways situated in Prussian territory was public dissatisfaction with the discriminations in rates which the railways made in favor of competitive points." (*Regulation of Railway Rates*, p. 3.)

It is an error to suppose that the Prussian policy after 1871 was a military policy. Bismarck had brought on three wars, one with Denmark, one with Austria and one with France, in order to secure German unity. When that was accomplished, in 1871, Bismarck's policy was no longer war, but peace and industrial development; and it was mainly on these grounds and for justice and economy that he advocated the nationalization of railroads.

It was urged that the railways should be managed solely in the public interest, and as a unit; that railways are frequently needed where they will not pay and where private enterprise will not build them; that, on the other hand, private enterprise wastes capital and labor, building unnecessary roads and running unnecessary trains; that the irregularity of private railway construction causes serious injury to industry, helping to bring on industrial and financial disturbance and ceasing just when its continuance is most needed for industrial relief; that the Government alone can draw up a consistent plan of railway building to extend through many years and to be executed gradually with due regard to the public well-being, making due extensions in times of prosperity, and finding it even more profitable to push construction in times of depression, thereby building the lines at low cost and yet helping to relieve the depression at the same time. Competition of private companies, it was shown, leads to monopoly. In France 6 big companies had absorbed 48 companies; in England 11 of the chief railways had absorbed 362 companies; and the same processes were at work in Germany. The private railways interfered with the effectiveness of the protective tariff. Public railways are of great military value to the State, and military men agree in assigning much weight to the acquisition of the railways by the State. The profits upon transportation may be much more justly obtained and much more beneficially used in the public interest under a State system. The discriminations and other abuses of the private companies must be stopped, and there was no way in which this could be thoroughly accomplished except by public-ownership and operation, for many of the abuses are secret and Government regulation had proved insufficient.

The opposition was powerful. Objections were vigorously urged—substantially the same objections that are made

in America to-day—that so great an extension of Government employment would be dangerous; that political abuses would result; that sectional strife would paralyze the railroad system; that in the absence of competition the State roads would become non-progressive and inefficient; that private initiative and individual liberty were essential (meaning private initiative for private profit as distinguished from private initiative in public service), etc., etc.

In his great speeches in the Prussian Parliament, Bismarck bore down all objections by appealing to experience with State railways in Prussia and other German States (some of which owned practically all their railways), and emphasizing the fact that State railways “served the public interest,” and, “as a secondary consideration, aid the public treasury,” while “it is the misfortune of private railways” that public highways and public functions “should be exploited in behalf of private interests and private pockets.”

The argument submitted by the Cabinet to the Prussian Parliament in 1879, along with bills for the nationalization of the railways, is probably the most important document in railway history. It represents the best thought of Bismarck and his cabinet and all they had gathered from the chambers of commerce and hundreds of books, pamphlets and addresses that had been issued on the subject during years of earnest discussion. A few quotations will give the reader some idea of the weight and thoroughness of this famous document.

The Cabinet said:

“The inconveniences caused by the private management of railroads in consequence of the existence of a number of different enterprises of doubtful solidity and restricted working capacity; the abuse of their privileged position by their managers; the oft-recurring resistance to reforms of public utility; the complication and the for the most part arbitrary

differences among the various administrative and working arrangements; the intricacy of the tariffs; the quarreling and extravagant expenditure accompanying the bitter competition existing among such a number of corporations, have altogether caused the widespread injury to the public welfare that is inseparable from an extended private management of railroads.

"The attempts to bring about reform by laws have shown the futility of hoping for a satisfactory improvement through legal measures, without trenching materially on established rights and interests."

"State ownership is necessary," argued the Cabinet, "to attain unity and economy under conditions in harmony with the public welfare and to secure direct attention to public interests which do not permanently find sufficient furtherance and protection where the railroads are in the hands of private corporations whose object is gain. . . . The inadequacy of private management and State supervision becomes daily more obvious."

The Cabinet dwelt at length upon the advantages of unity, the waste of having fifty separate railway managements, etc. Large savings in official salaries would result from unity of management. The army of employes in the tariff and accounting offices could also be reduced one-half. "The reasonable utilization of cars" was interfered with "by the multiplicity of owners, and the working capacity of the rolling-stock greatly reduced in consequence," one-third of the travel being made with empty cars. The waste in haulage by circuitous transportation was also shown. "Freight is carried over roads exceeding in length by 100 per cent. the shortest routes."

"But," said the Cabinet, "the union of the railroads in the hands of one private enterprise would be absolutely inadmissible. Although the disadvantages and dangers of an unsystematic division and wasteful competition would

thus be avoided, to place the complete monopoly of all means of transport in the hands of one enormous profit-seeking corporation would be antagonistic to every public interest concerned, as will be apparent to all. Already in those countries where private railroad management is the rule, and where the technically and economically justified process of absorption by the powerful corporations of the smaller and less important railroads prevails, their course hitherto, the dangerous influence which these corporations have acquired over the whole public existence, the reckless pursuit of the profits of their monopoly and their chartered rights within the districts they serve, and the impotency of Government supervision compared with their far-reaching, well-organized power, controlling all interests, together cause the gravest apprehensions for the welfare of the country, and even for its political independence."

"Only the union of complete ownership and unrestricted management in the hands of the State can fully secure the fulfillment of the task devolving on the Government with regard to the direction of railroad matters. Only by the adoption of this system can the economical advantages of united management be obtained without the monopoly of transportation compromising the advancement and protection of the interests of the community. The great advantages of complete unity in the management and operation of the railroads are so necessary to the economical interests of the country that the only question left is whether a monopoly by the State or by private corporations is to be regarded as the most advantageous forms of unity. If a private monopoly, as just described, is wholly incompatible with the proper protection of public interests, but would render all business requiring transportation dependent on the interests and views of a private enterprise, then a Government monopoly, one single transportation establishment conducted by the State

for all the railroads of the country, appears to be the only possible form in which complete unity of operation can be accompanied by the protection of the interests of the community."

"The railroads are public highways and can only be left to unrestricted private control so far as public interest permits. The very nature of a public highway requires that its use must be secured to everybody on equal terms."

"It is the duty of the Government to see that the people have fair rates and equal treatment; to protect the public against arbitrary, fluctuating, complex and unjust tariffs; to demand safe transportation for the public and ample facilities to guard the customs duties against neutralization by railway concessions to foreign goods. For all these reasons the Government must control the railroads, but the conflict of interest between the private railways and the public makes such control very difficult. The companies seek profit and often try to deflect the law instead of giving cordial support and full effectiveness to Government regulation in the public interest. On the other hand it is a very delicate question how far the Government has a right to exert control for the public good against the financial interests of the railroads."

"More than all," said the Cabinet, "the principle of equality, the impartial treatment of all shippers, is endangered by the operation of railroads by private corporations. The principles of the publicity of the rates and the equal treatment of all shippers, which are embodied in the railroad legislation of all countries, are liable, as experience has shown, to be circumvented on account of the competing interests of railroads, and also by individual interests which have influence with the managements. The granting of these secret advantages in transportation in the most diversified ways to individual shippers, and in particular the so-called rebate system, is the injurious misuse of the powers granted to railroad

corporations. It renders Government control of the rates impossible, makes the competition between the different lines, as well as that of shippers dependent on them, dishonorable and unfair, carries corruption among the railroad employes and leads more and more to the subordination of the railroad management to the special interests of certain powerful cliques. It is the duty of the Government to oppose this evil, to uphold the principle of the equal treatment of all shippers, and to enforce the legislative regulations on this subject. The importance of this problem is equaled only by the difficulty of its solution. It suits the interests of the railroad proprietors to favor large shippers in preference to the smaller ones, and, by means of secret favors of all kinds, to divert the most important shipments from the competing lines. The opportunities of securing secret favors to particular shippers are so manifold that their effectual lasting hindrance by means of the State supervising power is impossible. Rebates on freights may be made through a second or third party by means of the secret interposition of agents who are appointed for the purpose of regulating and securing the business of a certain competing route through the mediation of the foreign railroads concerned, as well as by a prearranged connivance in admitting or allowing fictitious or unfounded claims, etc., and so may be covered and withdrawn from public as well as official control."

"The organization of a joint-stock company does not prevent the possibility of the operation of a railroad being brought into a condition of complete dependence on some other industrial undertaking, nor does it insure that the directors of a private railroad company shall not be interested in a series of other enterprises whose successful operation is dependent upon their business relations with the railroad, so that the management of the road may be directed and governed, not so much by its own interest as in

the interest of some other business, often enough opposed to that of the road. Against such an organization, which, by reason of its abundant means, and by effective channels, often leads astray and corrupts public opinion, even the influence of the Government is powerless, the principle of equitable treatment of all railroad shipping interests becomes an empty form and legislative regulation nothing but a meaningless phrase."

By a vote of 226 to 155, Parliament authorized the purchase of the principal private railways and the extension of the State lines. The Government had the right to take the roads at twenty-five times the average net earnings for the preceding five years, but it preferred to come to an agreement with the owners rather than to take the railways by compulsory process. The railways, however, were given to understand that it was for their own interest to make reasonable terms, as in case their demands were exorbitant the Government would use the roads already in the hands of the State to apply to the private railways some of that competition they so much admired. The terms agreed upon were fair to both sides. The companies as a rule got a little more than actual value. For example, the dividends of the Berlin, Potsdam and Magdeburg Railway had averaged only a trifle over $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. during the preceding five years, and the State gave 4 per cent. The Berlin and Stettin Railway paid 3.65 per cent. dividends in 1878, while the State gave the shareholders 4.75 per cent.

The companies got a little more than value, and the State made an excellent bargain; for the economies effected under State management "enabled the

*This point was brought out strongly in the report of Sir Bernhard Samuelson to the English Association of Chambers of Commerce in 1886. At that time the State had absorbed about all the important lines.

"On the Prussian railways," says Samuelson, "the net returns were 5.55 per cent. on the cost of construction, and 5.09 per cent. on the cost after

Government to make a net profit of one per cent. on the purchase" above the interest paid on the consols exchanged for the stock* and on the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds of the companies which were transferred to the Government.

The nationalization of the railroads by purchase and construction was carried rapidly forward and in half a decade the private roads were reduced to an insignificant fraction (less than one-twelfth of the mileage and in scattered, unimportant fragments), and ceased to be an influential factor in railway administration. In the other German states the railway systems were already public property and to-day in every one of the 26 states of the German nation, the railways are either wholly or almost wholly in the hands of the Government—30,520 miles out of a total of 33,070 miles being public roads, and only 2,456 miles operated by private companies.

What have been the results of nationalizing the railroads? What are the facts? What do the German people think about them and what does the world think about them?

The principal results of nationalizing the railroads have been the following: The public highways of iron and steel are managed for the public good instead of being operated for private gain. The abuses so much complained of under the private system have ceased to exist. The employés are well treated; safety is carefully provided for; large economies have been effected; the tariffs are simple, clear, well thought out and reasonably elastic. They do not possess the abnormal elasticity that comes from arbitrary rate-making under the pressure of individual interests and corporation dividends; but they do possess the normal including premiums on purchase. The purchased lines were paid for by consols, bearing 4 per cent. interest, and the money employed in the construction of the lines by the Government itself was borrowed at about the same rate, hence there appears to be a clear profit to the Government of one per cent. on the capital invested in its railways, after setting aside an amount as a sinking-fund."

and beneficial elasticity resulting from the fact that rates are carefully adjusted to the real needs of legitimate industry through the coöperation of the railway management with popular councils representing the business interests of the community.* The rates are low and are being constantly reduced; valuable concessions are made in the interest of education and labor; the management is the most enlightened, efficient and progressive in Europe and the most democratic in the world, through the influence of the representative bodies that have so large a share in the discussions and decisions of railway questions.

The profits are very large. The roads have paid for themselves long ago. The capital is being paid off, the policy of the Government being to cancel the capital entirely in time and reduce the rates to a small margin above the cost of operation. Already the railway debt has been reduced to about half the total cost of the roads, instead of saddling them with a capitalization of double their value, as is the average practice in this country.

Unjust discrimination was destroyed by the nationalization of the railways. There is absolutely no favoritism on the German roads. Shippers are treated with perfect impartiality. The problem of discrimination was not solved until

the railways were nationalized and then it was solved as a Turkish bath solves the problem of cleanliness. Discrimination disappeared completely.† I was not able to find a shipper in Germany, nor anywhere in Europe, who knew or had heard, or had even a suspicion, of the granting of any rebate or concession of any kind by the German roads. Many of them did not stop with negative statements, but asserted positively that concessions could not be obtained.

There are no free passes except for employes on railway business. Even the Minister pays his fare, and the Emperor, too. There are no secret rebates or open concessions, no commissions, elevator allowances or mileage graft in private cars; no midnight tariffs, terminal railroad abuses or expense-bill tricks, no underbilling frauds or classification favors, no fostering of trusts and monopolies, no long and short haul injustices, no basing-point system, no watered securities or gambling in railway stocks, no railway wars, no wasteful construction of competitive railways, no refusal to construct needed lines in rural districts, no disregard of safety nor postponement of public interest to private profit in any way, no excessive transportation charges on the postal service, no railroad rulers levying their private taxes

*An excellent example of the flexibility of German rates and their ready adaptability to the real needs of the hour occurred in the summer of 1904, when the drought so far dried up the upper Elbe as to interfere with navigation. Many boats were loaded with goods and delay would cause distress and loss to merchants and consignors; so the Government railways put their rates down to the water level and carried the goods at the same rates they would have paid by water. The whole tariff, through possessing reasonable stability so that merchants and manufacturers know what to count upon, is nevertheless elastic enough to meet the actual changes of condition and the real needs of commerce, as is evidenced by the fact that over 60 per cent. of the Prussian traffic is carried on "exception rates" or special tariffs. But the special rates are not secret concessions, but are made in the daylight, subject to full discussion by representative councils and are open to all alike.

†This is admitted even by our own railroad writers. Hadley says, speaking of the Prussian railways: "It must be confessed that important

results have been achieved. They have done away with the most dangerous forms of special contract and secret discrimination. The worse abuses under which we suffer in America have been avoided." (*Railroad Transportation*, 248.) Professor Hugo Meyer, of Chicago University, who believes that "discrimination" is the secret of efficiency of American railways, says there are no secret rates of personal or local discriminations on the German railways, and finds what seems to be his chief criticism of the German roads on the charge that they will not discriminate, but treat all persons and places alike. "Equal treatment," he says, "must be accorded to all, and the Government cannot make those due and necessary discriminations that are demanded for the welfare of the whole people." (*Regulation of Railroad Rates*, p. 23.) No wonder the Standard Oil and the Beef-Trust heartily approve of Mr. Meyer's book, and the railroads have, it is said, distributed a million copies of it. On page 66, Professor Meyer says: "The making of railway rates is now directly and positively under the control of the Prussian Government, and there-

on the commerce of the country, no railway nullification, evasion, or defiance of law, no railroad lobbyist, either inside or outside of legislative bodies at the national capital or the State capitals, seeking to corrupt or pervert legislation, no railway battles in the courts, no railroad senators. Blessed Germany! Her railway system is not perfect—nothing hu-

man is; but it has escaped so many evils and acquired so many excellencies that for many years it has commanded, not only the unqualified endorsement, but the warm respect and admiration of all impartial students.

(*To be continued.*)

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

SECRETARY ROOT AND HIS PLEA FOR CENTRALIZATION.

BY DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS.

THE PLACE was New York City, capital of the plutocracy. The occasion was the banquet of the Pennsylvania Society on last December 12th, with the table of honor graced by several of the most eminent plutocratic plunderers through railways, coal and steel. The orator was the Secretary of State, Elihu Root, ablest of the legal pilots who have become multi-millionaires through steering the looting enterprises of the great pirates amid the reefs and shoals of the law. A notable place, a notable occasion, a notable orator. And the speech

fore personal discrimination has been done away with." Notice the "therefore." The professor apparently aims at a limitation with the clause "except in these forms where it is compelled by technical or other special conditions" (such as the lower rates on carload lots, discussed in the preceding pages). "Even more completely has local discrimination been done away with so far as the railways are concerned." He thinks there is discrimination on the water. "With the growth of the traffic which is not managed by the Prussian Government, there goes a great increase of personal discrimination." The explanation which follows, however, indicates that he is speaking mainly of the lower boat-rates large shipments can secure. He says further on this question of local discrimination (p. 45), that while the German people think it right to cut rates against a foreign city, they would not approve of rate-cutting "for the purpose of strengthening one German city as against another."

The difference between car-load and less-than-car-load rates is not a personal discrimination nor a discrimination of any kind in the sense in which the word is used in America. Such rates are not

worthy of them. Mr. Root, with his splendid mind, with his years of training as an intellectual contortionist, juggler and thimble-rigger, with his cynical disdain of morality and justice as cant and idealism, is always a fascinating personality. Only a man of Mr. Roosevelt's impetuous and reckless confidence would think of trusting him; but to withhold a certain kind of admiration from him is as impossible as to withhold it from Milton's Satan—except when, like Satan in the Garden, he deigns to disguise himself as a toad and to squat at

made with any purpose of favoritism, and the difference in the rates on small lots is partly overcome in Germany by means of forwarding agencies, which gather up the parcels and ship them in five or ten ton lots. Down to 1897 they collected about 20 per cent. of the parcel shipments; since then the percentage has fallen to 10 or 12, the parcel rates having been lowered.

That Professor Meyer recognizes the fact that his limitation respecting technical conditions, etc., does not really constitute an exception, is proved by his statement on page 61, that "in the American sense of the term, there is no personal discrimination."

On this point, Professor B. H. Meyer of Wisconsin, our leading authority on foreign railways, agrees with Professor Hugo Meyer of Chicago; in his testimony before the United States Industrial Commission (Volume IX., p. 974), the Wisconsin professor says: "Prussia has made a success of her railways. Discriminations are unknown. The 'special rates' which are published, together with the reasons for which they are established, like regular rates, are open to everybody."

Roosevelt's ear, whispering sly confusions to make his chief's well-meant efforts toward justice fizzle out in mere talk or futile action. Root was never more interesting than on that evening of December 12th.

Apparently he was speaking for the Roosevelt administration. In reality, then as always, he was speaking for the plutocracy. For, though Mr. Root, accepting public office, formally severs formal connection with his clients, the custodians of the enterprises in which his several millions are invested, he can not change the mental and moral habits of a lifetime. It would be no more possible for him to cease to look at everything from the viewpoint of the darkly and devious rich and to take the viewpoint of justice and patriotism than it would be possible for a black man to become white by powdering himself and putting on a blonde wig. "I am, because I think" runs the Cartesian formula. True also is it that "I am what I think." Whether in Ryan's counsels or in Roosevelt's, Mr. Root is always what has won him his reputation and his wealth.

Here are the three essential paragraphs from Mr. Root's speech. Let us not interpret the man except through his own exact words:

"The Federal anti-trust law, the anti-rebate law, the railroad rate law, the meat-inspection law, the oleomargarine law, the pure-food law are examples of the purpose of the people of the United States to do through the agency of the National Government the thing which the separate State governments formerly did adequately, but no longer do adequately.

"New projects of national control are mooted; control of insurance, uniform divorce laws, child-labor laws, and many others affecting matters formerly entirely within the cognizance of the State are proposed.

"The governmental control which they

[the people] deem just and necessary they will have. It may be that such control could better be exercised in particular instances by the governments of the states, but the people will have the control they need either from the States or from the National Government, and if the States fail to furnish it in due measure, sooner or later constructions of the Constitution will be found to vest the power where it will be exercised by the National Government."

There is in New York City a newspaper that belongs, heart and pocket-book, with the plutocracy, but that relies for its circulation entirely upon the masses of the people. This newspaper is, therefore, always casting about for some false issue on which to lead a hue and cry away from the real issue—the depredations of ill-got and unscrupulous wealth. According to this newspaper, Mr. Root's speech was received with angry cries of "No! No!" from the eminent group among whom sat those doughty and self-sacrificing patriots, Morgan and Baer—Morgan who in water stocks and bonds has piled literally billions in taxes upon the stooping shoulders of the toilers of this and succeeding generations; Baer who is seeing to it that coal which ought to be freely within the reach of all at about two dollars a ton shall cost upwards of six dollars a ton, though thousands shiver and the babies of the tenements die. It is a fixed principle with some people to find out how certain persons stand and straightway to take the opposite stand. This rule is not without plausibility, but it is not safe or wise. It has enabled many a job of public undoing to slip through. So, let us not straightway decide that since Mr. Root aroused the anger of his sinister friends, he must have been speaking words of wisdom and patriotism. Those cries of "No! No!" may have been insincere; or, again, they may have been hasty. Mr. Root is subtle; those coarse intelligences may not have seen his point in time to applaud.

When a man is trying to serve the enemy of the people, and at the same time to make the people believe he is serving them, he has to be subtle, adroit, dextrous in hiding an ugly reality within sugared phrases. We are all human, and we therefore expect no man to go against what he regards as his vital interest. Is not Mr. Root's vital interest—that which has all his life engaged all the powers of his splendid mind, that in which his large fortune is invested—is it not the plutocracy?

At first reading, Mr. Root's words sounded as if he were throwing down the gauntlet to the plutocracy, were advocating all the great measures of reform which the people have most closely at heart, were saying boldly, "I serve notice on you plutocrats that we the people are going to have our way, and you may as well stop intriguing and corrupting." But even as we begin to examine the fair-appearing gift from the Greeks, the armed men within are heard rattling their spears. Mr. Root was at his best, was the worthy pupil of the old sophists who could make the worse appear the better reason.

We notice now that Mr. Root describes all the attempts at measures of popular justice as instances of violation of the Constitution, as proofs that the spirit of centralization is abroad in the land, in defiance of law, is contemptuous of our American basic principle, local self-government. The States neglected their duties—the national government, therefore, usurped power and performed those duties—thus runs Mr. Root's smooth plausibility. But what is the truth? Why, just the reverse of what Mr. Root asserts. The sources of our *great* corruption were national, not state or local. The chief cause of political and social debauchery has been corruption through a desire to control commerce; more than three-fourths of all our domestic commerce is interstate, and therefore, by the clear and explicit statement of our Constitution, is within the control of the national government. It was the owner-

ship of the national government—of the national political machinery of both parties; of the dispensers of the "patronage" of cabinet offices, judgeships, prosecuting offices, etc., etc.; of the rulers of Senate and House, and of many, often most, of the rank and file—this it was that enabled predatory wealth to debauch state and locality. It was the failure of the national government to discharge the duties laid upon it by the Constitution that enabled the great thieves to spread and flourish and breed in states and cities. In far-away Washington were done the deeds that built up the plutocracy and made it so strong that the people cannot cope with it locally. The great tariff frauds, the great land frauds, the great railway frauds, the great crimes of legislation of privilege enacted, the greater crimes of omission to enact legislation against privilege—these were not state affairs, were not local affairs. The people have been remiss locally, it is true. But that remissness might, would, long ago have been repaired, had they not in their simplicity and over-confidence been sending to Washington, to sit in Senate and House, to arrange for the appointment of cabinet officers and prosecutors and judges, smug, respectable scoundrels of good education, of plausible speech, of patriotic professions, but of traitorous performances. Millions of people, who abhor the local boss, believe the Spooners and Baileys and Lodges are patriots. Root himself stands well, because his record has never been thoroughly exposed to the nation. Few know about the Tweed scandal and the State Trust scandal and how it happens that the traction syndicate is so well bulwarked in law, though it is a professional pick-pocket with a particular fondness for pockets in overalls and in the ragged skirts of working-girls. No, the American people have been exceedingly slow in learning that "respectability" and professions of piety and patriotism and solicitude for the welfare of the people are the favorite disguises of a criminal

class less hardy than that of the slums but vastly more dangerous, vastly more active and effective.

The favorite cry of the "respectable" plutocrats who are reformers in local politics and of the real reformers who do not bother to think, is "Purify the primaries! Reform must begin at the bottom!" And it would be a good idea to purify the primaries, and to clean up thoroughly. But let us not be misled by the plutocracy and its agents, conscious and unconscious. Let us not be daunted because whenever we approach "respectable" rottenness, almost all the reformers, real and reputed, fall away and begin to denounce us as "intemperate," as "shaking public confidence in the bulwarks of society," and so on, *ad nauseum*. The corruption that is vital is not in ward politics, or state politics, but in national politics. It is at Washington; it is among our public servants who stand high in the public esteem, and who would be elected by the people just as readily if there were no bosses. It is among the men whose respectability, whose skill at public speaking and at juggling public questions deceives the people into believing them honest and capable and eager to do their patriotic duty. The sooner we learn the fact that should be self-evident—learn that the reason we are preyed upon is because those we have sent to Washington to protect us have gone over to the enemy—the sooner we learn and act upon this fact, the sooner will we reclaim the magnificent inheritance we have so stupidly permitted a few to filch from us.

In far away Washington. That is to say, Washington, the national capital, the national legislature, the national administration, has been too far from a people so optimistic, so heedless politically and so busy as we. We have paid little attention to our local affairs; to our national affairs we have given no serious attention at all. We have simply voted for the one or the other "grand old party" and its fluent and oleaginous leaders. If we were informed as to national politics,

as to the real meaning of what has been and is being done and left undone in Senate and House and Treasury Department and Department of Justice, would an Elihu Root dare to stand up in public and allege that the most ordinary and even timid exercises of power specifically conferred upon the national government were usurpations, were infringements of the rights of local self-government? His speech was in that respect anything but a compliment to American political intelligence. To imply that regulation of national internal affairs by national authority is unconstitutional is like describing as unconstitutional national measures for defense against a foreign foe. The Constitution is a common-sense document, the work of men eminent for sober common-sense. It assigns to the national government all matters with which only the nation as a whole can deal. And the present public demand for the control and the extinction of national evils is simply a demand that the executive, legislative and judicial departments of the national government shall cease to obey the plutocracy by refraining from taking measures for the national defense against national foes, and shall exert its powers so that big thieves may not shuffle themselves out of the hands of justice by shifting from state to state. For many years now, under orders from the plutocracy, the Constitution has been in its most important provisions practically suspended; the demand of the people is that it be put in operation again. As Senator Beveridge pointed out many years ago, the Constitution has grown as the country has grown, in some such manner of natural expansion and development as has characterized the moral code of the Nazarene, given to a simple community, yet adequate to the most advanced and the most complex. The Constitution in all its essentials is a statement, an enactment, of fundamental principles; and fundamental principles sustain any superstructure, small or great.

We see now that Mr. Root's argument

rests upon a subtle falsehood, one which painfully suggests deliberation, when his attainments as a lawyer are considered. No one ought to know the Constitution better than he. What was his object in describing as usurpation acts that are soundly constitutional? Why did he thus strive to create the impression that the Washington administration had been getting the people some measure of justice at the price of deliberate violation and evasion of our national law? As no good purpose could lurk behind a trick so unnecessary to a good purpose, we have choice of two explanations, both plausible, both characteristic of the man.

It may be that he saw an opportunity in Mr. Roosevelt's method of doing conservative, even reactionary, things as if they were the wildest radicalism, and proceeded to take advantage of it for his own party, the plutocracy, by trying to confuse in the public mind the vital distinction between what is constitutional and what is usurpation. What better way of establishing precedents for usurpation, for stealthy encroachments upon the people's control of their government and their public servants than by characterizing as illegal and unconstitutional acts that are popular and necessary? Mr. Root was saying in effect, "Despite the Constitution, the national administration has been getting you your rights, O people! That's the only way, since the law forbids you your rights. So you must give us at Washington a free hand. You must let us go where we please, do what we please. There must be no law for us at Washington but what seems to us expedient at any given moment. To hell with the Constitution! Trust us!"

If the American people were certain that only all-wise and altogether good men would be in power at both ends of Pennsylvania avenue, such a grant would still be an act of national suicide. For the most benevolent of despots is still a despot, and his subjects, whether happy or unhappy, are slaves; further, to make

any wise and good man over into a prejudiced and capricious tyrant, it is only necessary to give him free-handed power. Not even with a Washington or a Lincoln in the White House would such a grant be safe. What would it mean with a Mr. Roosevelt in the White House, having a Root as his chief counsellor, when he takes counsel at all? What would it not mean if there were a Mr. Ryan's Root or a Mr. Harriman's Fairbanks in the White House, a man subscribing in his own person to the plutocratic creed as enunciated by Baer—that the American people are the wards of "the Christian men [Ryans, Rockefellers, Rogerses, McCurdys, Hydes, Perkinses, Depews] whom God in his infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country!"

It is absurd, Bourbonish, to assert that the Constitution, or any other law, or all laws together, are sacred, taboo. Our rights and liberties are sacred; but our constitutions, our laws, and the officers selected to enforce or to interpret—these are not sacred, but mere human, fallible instruments to the preservation of our rights and liberties in living vigor. At the same time, only through respect for the law on the part of the judges and the executive officers can the people hope to preserve liberty. It has been through the disdain of law by our plutocrats and their agents in office that the present menacing conditions have been brought about. Does Mr. Root fancy that the time is propitious for the people, believing in Roosevelt, to grant to the office which Roosevelt must sooner or later yield to another, license to trample law and substitute for it the will of the officeholder? The only way in which a public servant can know the people's will is by reading the Constitution and the laws. However imperfectly the laws, so often the product of plutocratic intrigue, may express the popular will, they are nevertheless the only definite expression of it. It is the duty of the people to criticize the laws with a view to bettering them;

it is the duty of the public servant to obey and enforce the laws. And any momentary gain to the people through a judge or an executive disregarding the law in what might seem to be, and might be, the public interest, would soon be lost, would soon be changed into a public catastrophe by the use of that precedent of violence to promote the purposes of the plutocracy. In a contest of lawlessness the compact, definitely organized few of the privileged class can always overcome the scattered, easily misled, now crazy and now terrified many.

Mr. Root's phrase—"sooner or later constructions of the Constitution will be found"—is essentially a plutocratic phrase, the familiar phrase of the legal agent of the plutocracy, of the old campaigner for the plutocracy. It is part of the trick-talk of the plutocracy's "Constitutional lawyers" in Congress and on the bench, whereby the plutocracy's demands are made to seem sound law and the rights and needs of the people "unconstitutional." There has, indeed, been much stretching of the Constitution to promote the plutocracy. But, "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," no "constructions" need be "found." And all such "found" constructions are in the end licenses to the people's servants to betray the people. What we need in interpreting laws is, not craft, for we have had too much of that, but common democratic honesty and common-sense; not searching after strained readings of fundamental law, but straightaway obedience to the law as it plainly reads. Mr. Roosevelt has been unfortunate in many of his intimate friendships, never so unfortunate as in his friendship for this sly and sinister intellect, cold, cynical, plausible, plutocratic. When Mr. Root began as a lawyer, he was severely rebuked from the

bench for transgression of the law in his eagerness to earn the fee of Boss Tweed. That same love of playing tricks with the law has clung to him, has grown in strength—and in dexterity—with the years. William C. Whitney, the genius of the traction ring, used to say, "There are lots of lawyers who can tell you what you can't do; but Root can always tell you how you can do what you want to do." That is, Root revels in "constructions." He is just the man to invent a "construction" that would concentrate at far-away Washington and in the hands of eminently respectable demagogues, bent upon binding the people over to the plutocracy, all the power of government that is now divided and that must remain divided, if free institutions are to abide.

The other explanation of Mr. Root's Pennsylvania Society deliverance was suggested by the promptness with which Mr. Root's old employers, the ring that rules the national machine of the Democratic party, came out on the other side of the "new issue"—centralization. The plutocracy is always looking for a "new issue"—anything to distract attention from the real issue, the plutocracy itself. Could any programme be more attractive to the plutocracy, in control of the machinery of both political parties, than a fake battle between centralizationists and States-righters, with a Root or a Cannon or a Fairbanks as the candidate of centralization and some equally "respectable" Ryan creature as the standard-bearer of local self-government?

Perhaps Mr. Root had both purposes in mind. But, whatever his purpose, it was not of or for the people. For no good could possibly come of describing lawful action as lawless and telling the people that by the lawless ways of "constructions" alone can they get the rights which the Constitution was established to guarantee to them.

DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS.

New York City.

THE BILLIONAIRE.*

By MAXIM GORKI.

THE KINGS of steel, of petroleum, and all the other kings of the United States have always in a high degree excited my power of imagination. It seemed to me certain that these people who possess so much money could not be like other mortals.

Each of them (so I said to myself) must call his own, at least, three stomachs and a hundred and fifty teeth. I did not doubt that the millionaire ate without intermission, from six o'clock in the morning till midnight. It goes without saying, the most exquisite and sumptuous viands! Toward evening, then, he must be tired of the hard chewing, to such a degree that (so I pictured to myself) he gave orders to his darkies to *digest* the meals that he had swallowed with satisfaction during the day. Completely limp, covered with sweat and almost suffocated, he had to be put to bed by his servants, in order that on the next morning at six o'clock he might be able to begin again his work of eating.

Nevertheless, it must be impossible for such a man—whatever pains he might take—to consume merely the half of the interest of his wealth.

To be sure, such a life is awful, but what is one to do? For what is one a millionaire—what am I saying?—a *billionaire*, if one cannot eat more than every other common mortal! I pictured to myself that this privileged being wore cloth-of-gold underclothing, shoes with gold nails, and instead of a hat a diadem of diamonds on his head. His clothes, made of the most expensive velvet, must be at least fifty feet long and fastened with three hundred gold buttons; and on holidays he must be compelled by dire necessity to put on over each other six pairs of costly trousers. Such a costume

is certainly very uncomfortable. But, if one is rich like that, one can't after all dress like all the world.

The pocket of a billionaire, I pictured to myself so big that therein easily a church or the whole senate could find room. The paunch of such a gentleman I conceived to myself like the hull of an ocean steamer, the length and breadth of which I was not able to think out. Of the bulk, too, of a billionaire I could never give myself a clear idea; but I supposed that the coverlet under which he sleeps measures a dozen hundred square yards. If he chews tobacco, it was unquestionably only the best kind, of which he always sticks two pounds at a time into his mouth. And on taking snuff (I thought to myself) he must use up a pound at a pinch. Indeed, money will be spent!

His fingers must possess the magic power of lengthening at will. In spirit, I saw a New York billionaire as he stretched out his hand across Bering Strait and brought back a dollar that had rolled somewhere toward Siberia, without especially exerting himself thereby.

Curiously, I could form to myself no clear conception of the *head* of this monster. In this organism consisting of gigantic muscles and bones that is made for squeezing money out of all things, a head seemed to me really quite superfluous.

Who, now, can conceive my astonishment when, standing facing one of these fabulous beings, I arrived at the conviction that a billionaire is a human being like all the rest!

I saw there comfortably reclining in an armchair a long, wizened old man, who held his brown, sinewy hands folded across a body of quite ordinary dimensions. The flabby skin of his face was carefully shaved. The underlip, which

*Translated from the German for THE ARENA, by NEWELL DUNBAR.

hung loosely down, covered solidly built jaws, in which gilded teeth were stuck. The upper lip, smooth, narrow and pallid, scarcely moved when the old man spoke. Colorless eyes without brows, a perfectly bald skull. It might be thought that a little skin was wanting to this reddish face, to this countenance that was expressionless and puckered like that of one new-born. Was this being just beginning its life, or was it already nearing its end?

Nothing in his dress distinguished him from the ordinary mortal. A ring, a watch, and his teeth were all the gold he carried with him. Scarcely half a pound, all told! Taken altogether, the appearance of the man recalled that of an old servant of an aristocratic family in Europe.

The furnishing of the room in which he received me had nothing unusually luxurious about it. The furniture was solid; that is all that can be said. Oftentimes elephants probably come into this house, I involuntarily thought at the sight of the heavy, substantial pieces of furniture.

"Are you the billionaire?" I asked, since I could not trust my eyes.

"Yes, indeed," he answered, nodding convincingly with his head.

"How much meat can you consume for breakfast?"

"I eat no meat in the morning," he avowed. "A quarter of an orange, an egg, a small cup of tea, that's all . . ."

His innocent child's-eyes blinked with a feeble luster, like two drops of muddy water.

"Good," I began again, half disconcerted. "But be honest with me; tell me the truth. How often in the day do you eat?"

"Twice," he answered, peacefully. "Breakfast and dinner suffice me. At noon I take soup, a little white meat, vegetables, fruit, a cup of coffee, a cigar . . ."

My surprise grew apace. I drew breath, and went on:

"But, if that's true, what do you do with your money?"

"Make more money!"

"What for?"

"To make more money, out of that!"

"What for?" I repeated.

He leaned toward me, his hands supported by the arms of his chair, and with some curiosity in his expression he said:

"You are probably cracked?"

"And you?" I said . . .

The old man inclined his head, and, whistling softly through the gold of his teeth, he said:

"Droll wag! . . . You are the first human being of your species that I ever became acquainted with."

Then he bent his head back and looked at me some time, silently and scrutinizingly.

"What do you do?" I began again.

"Make money," he answered, shortly.

"Oh, you're a counterfeiter!" I exclaimed, joyfully, for I thought I had finally got to the bottom of the mystery. But the billionaire flew into a passion. His whole body shook, his eyes rolled actively.

"That is unheard of!" he said, when he had calmed down. Then he inflated his cheeks, I do not know why.

I considered, and put further the following question to him:

"How do you make money?"

"Oh, that's very simple. I possess railroads; the farmers produce useful commodities, which I transport to the markets. I calculate exactly to myself how much money I must leave the farmer, in order that he may not starve and be able to produce further. The rest I keep myself as transportation charges. That's surely very simple!"

"And are the farmers satisfied with it?"

"Not all, I believe," he answered, with a naïve childishness. "But they say that the people are never satisfied. There are always odd characters who want still more . . ."

MAXIM GORKI.

PHOTOGRAPHY: ITS TRUE FUNCTION AND ITS LIMITATIONS.

By B. O. FLOWER.

THE PAST seventy years have been marked by a steady, rapid, and at times an almost magical improvement in the art of photography. A comparison of the faint, elusive and highly unsatisfactory early daguerreotypes with the latest finished work of our leading legitimate photographers will give us the measure of an artistic advance truly typical of the golden age of discovery and inventive progress—the age of science the miracle-worker, who in nature's laboratory has so utilized sunshine, electricity, steam and other subtle natural agencies and forces as to transform the world, changing the face of civilization, almost annihilating time and space, while greatly broadening the mental horizon of the race and marvelously enriching the life of man.

The legitimate field of photography is broad and its services are of priceless value to the race, giving to the poor and rich alike the permanent images of those most dear; bringing to the humble dwellers in remote hamlets the likenesses of the great, the good and the noble whose thoughts, deeds and lives are lifting the world; acquainting the children of every quarter with the scenery and objects of interest in all lands; assisting the surgeon in his labors of saving life and the savant in his researches; while in technical and mechanical fields this art is proving a positive labor-saver in hundreds of ways.

But while these noble triumphs have been legitimately achieved and the young art has in a way become a companion to the splendid art of the painter, a servant of science and a handmaid of industry, there are those in our modern feverish and somewhat superficial age who would force photography out of its legitimate sphere, throwing to the winds the well-

defined rules of the art, scorning its noble achievements and sneering at its true functions in a mad desire to achieve certain startling or dazzling results. Some assume that its function is similar to that of the artist of the brush; others seem to imagine that the greatest photographer is the man who in accidental ways or by empirical methods succeeds in securing some unique and perhaps startling results. This temper of the charlatan, this striving to wrest photography from its legitimate function and produce occasionally some wonderful examples of freak photography, that may or may not be strong in points of real value and which are the result of chance rather than of the conscientious and faithful following of the great basic laws of the photographer's art that give reasonably uniform results, is not confined to the photographers. In painting and sculpture, especially in Paris, is the same spirit rife among a certain number of more or less superficial artisans of the brush and chisel who study to find a short way to fame by employing the daring methods of the charlatan who would pose as a genius.

Some months ago, when in conversation with one of America's greatest sculptors, a man of undoubted genius who had long studied in Paris and whose creations have won for him international fame, my friend spoke very strongly of this empirical work that was so in evidence.

"In Paris especially," he said, "there are numbers of sculptors and painters who seem to care little for the great underlying and universally accepted laws of art and beauty or the immutable demands of truth. All they appear to strive for is something so grotesque, surprising

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JOHN S. SARGENT



or out of the ordinary that it will make the superficial start and exclaim, 'Ah! how strange, how striking, unique and original!' These works," he continued, "are often gruesome and absurd, frequently doing violence to the universally accepted canons of art. They are untrue to life, sometimes vicious in character or in their suggestions, and valueless as rational or consistent examples of the symbolic in artistic representation. Of course this kind of work is empirical. It will soon be forgotten because it has no solid foundation, no great principle or truth behind it. But for the hour these productions often catch the crowd and give to the creator of the freak work

a temporary popularity, to the injury of true art. And what is most surprising is that critics, who of all men should weigh values and look at the fundamentals, are at times caught up in the popular eddy and are found praising things which ten years later they will admit are worthless."

To us it seems that this very nearly characterizes the situation in the domain of the photographic art. Of late the freak photographer has been very much in evidence. The illustrated magazines and sometimes the art journals have been largely given over to the most laudatory articles extolling the work of men who are striving to make photography take



Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

PROFESSOR FREDERICK C. de SUMICHRAST.

the place of painting or to obtain by empirical methods novel and unexpected results. The reading of some of these articles reminds one of Hamlet's characterization of the shallow-pated buffoons among the actors who outraged all the canons of true art in order to gain the applause of the pit. No greater mistake can be made than to imagine, as certain champions of the innovators seem to hold, that photography can take the place of the painter's canvas. Both the arts photography and painting have their clearly-defined and legitimate spheres. One in a large way complements the other, but neither materially encroaches on the sphere of the other.

Professor Hugo Münsterberg in his *American Traits* emphasizes this fact in thus referring to the fundamental difference between the profession of "the photographer and that of the artist." "A good photographer," he asserts, "is certainly a more useful being than a bad artist, but no photographer understands the meaning of art who thinks that he and Sargent are in principle doing the same thing."

G. Bernard Shaw is one of the most clever and, along certain lines, one of the most penetrating critics of modern times. He is a charming writer, notwithstanding his cynicism, if one has the wit to see the face behind the mask or the lesson he is driving home in a manner so offensive to smug respectability and slothful conventionalism. But Mr. Shaw is by no means a safe guide at all times, and never is he more untrustworthy than when he appears in the rôle of the champion of freak photography or photography which is based on chance and which mistakes the true function of the art. Some months ago this brilliant and versatile writer published a most laudatory article in an American magazine on the work of Mr. Alvin Langdon Coburn, and in this essay our modern Daniel made a surprising statement which must have created no small degree of merriment among the really great legitimate masters of the camera. He informs the photographic artists of the world and the stranger without the gates that "technically good negatives are more often the result of the survival of the fittest than of special creation; the photographer is like the cod which produces a million eggs that one may reach maturity."

After this oracular utterance Mr. Shaw indulges in a highly eulogistic dissertation on the photography of his young friend, who, he proudly observes, gets what he wants "one way or another," but who "if he were examined by the City and Guilds' Institute, and based his answers on his own practice, would probably be removed from the class-room to a lunatic asylum."

From Mr. Shaw's description we are led to understand that the excellence of Alvin Langdon Coburn's work lies largely in his getting results different from those that mark the best work of the great legitimate photographic artists—results that are decidedly unique, if unsatisfactory, and which at times are chiefly noteworthy for their impressionistic value and at other times, judging from the examples given, because of their resemblance to paintings.

Mr. Shaw is not alone in his contempt for the photographer's art as it is understood and practiced by the world's greatest legitimate camera artists. The Photo-Secessionists of this country and kindred organizations of the Old World are striving to wrest photography from its true place. That they represent a fad that will pass is doubtless true; that they may exert in some degree a helpful modifying influence on certain kinds of photography may be possible; but that the space accorded to them and their work in contemporaneous popular and art journals tends to obscure the high and true function of photography is equally clear.

The artist of the pigment and the brush must ever hold undisputed his high place. His canvas is rich in values that no photograph can give or even faintly reproduce. If he is painting a portrait, he studies the dominant characteristics of his subject. The play of emotions, the lights that flash from the eye, the grave and serious expressions that emphasize the countenance at moments when the emotional depths are stirred,—these fire the artist's imagination. He instinctively sees the proper background for the character he is painting and he presents the likeness that is ever more or less idealistic and impressionistic. It is far less descriptive than the photograph, yet it is none the less true in a large and vital way, for into it the artist has put something of his own genius and imagination, which becomes as an atmosphere, subtle, impalpable, yet very real and true in all respects to the peculiar character portrayed.



Photo by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE



Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

JOHN A. S. MONKS.

The artist of the camera, on the other hand, is a literalist. He is nothing if not true to the external delineations. He is sternly realistic and while striving to catch his subject at his best, striving to register the countenance while the soul looks forth from the eyes and lights up the features with an indefinable radiance or when the mighty emotions that stir the being in his greatest moments are shadowed forth on the face, he does not aim or strive to put anything on the plate that is not found in the subject or which cannot be caught by the sensitive film. What he does strive to do is to reproduce with literal exactness the subject before the camera,—reproduce him at his best

and catch him if possible when the mask which we all wear at times is lowered. But what he gives must be true to the testimony of the material vision. The photograph is first of all and above all descriptive—a faithful record of all that the sensitive plate can catch and hold.

Desiring to obtain for our readers the views of one of the leading legitimate photographers of this country, we requested the opinion of Mr. J. E. Purdy, the famous Boston photographic artist, who has undoubtedly taken more portraits of really distinguished statesmen, authors, educators, artists, clergymen, diplomats, journalists and persons eminent in various professions than any photog-

rapher in New England. Indeed, his gallery of notables will compare favorably with those of the few leading photographers who have made a specialty of photographs of celebrities. More than this, Mr. Purdy's work has given great satisfaction to many distinguished men who have sat in the great galleries of the Old World and the New, as we have reason to know from their expressions of delight. We mention these facts merely to show that the views of a man in Mr. Purdy's position are essentially those of an expert in legitimate photography and as such are worthy of special consideration.

In reply to our question: "What in

your opinion is the legitimate sphere of the photographic artist?" Mr. Purdy said:

"I consider the real or true function of photography to be to record and publish the truth. Now the mission of the new school seems to be in a great measure to conceal the truth; to hide, cover up or eliminate facts rather than to present them in a striking and realistic manner. My idea is that we cannot have too much of the truth, provided it is presented in its proper and legitimate way."

"You do not hold with the new school that photography should encroach or attempt to encroach upon or to supplant the work of the artist of the brush?"

"No, the painter and the photographic artist has each his distinct and legitimate field. It is as absurd as it is idle to talk of photography supplanting painting. The color, tone, feeling, atmosphere and imagination that appeal to us from the canvas of the master-painter belong to his great profession. Even photographs of paintings are at best unsatisfactory. Mr. Philip L. Hale in one of his charm-



Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

PROFESSOR OSTWALD.

ingly bright letters in a recent issue of one of our Boston dailies expressed my views on this point. I think I have his words here on my desk. Yes, here they are. He is speaking, you know, of photographs of masterpieces, which are so much in vogue in Boston homes of culture and which seemed to pain our English critic, Mr. Wells, on his visit to this city:

"A photograph! Well, except for the fact that it does n't get the color, that it gets the values all wrong, and that it distorts the drawing, there's no great harm in a photograph. Only it's not very complete; in fact, one may say it's rather negative. . . . To an artist a photograph of Velasquez's Pope something or other, or a detail from the Lances is interesting because he's interested in the drawing, and perhaps still more in the facture. It's a technical matter with him, but he knows he gets nothing of the color or tone value and very little of the charm. He sees very little of the thing Velasquez thought most about when he was painting. But our cultured commission merchant looks complacently at



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WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST.

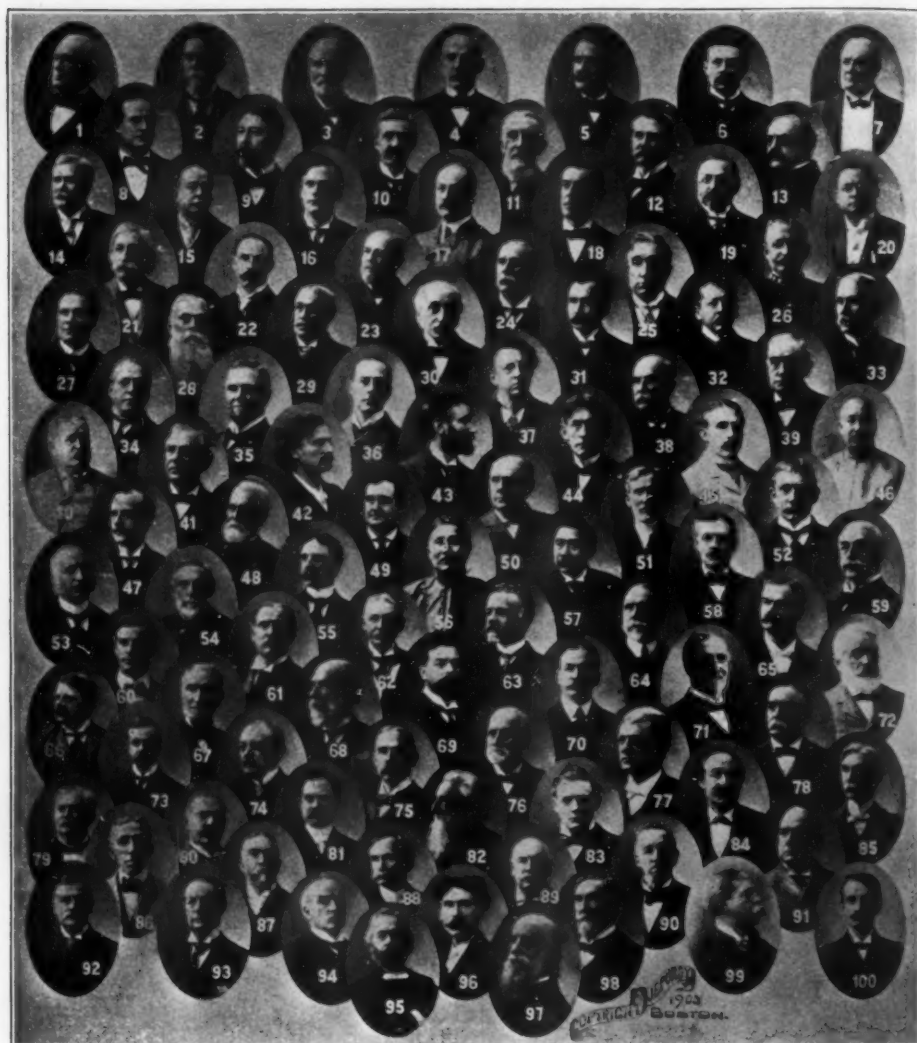


Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

ONE HUNDRED DISTINGUISHED MEN OF TO-DAY.

1. Senator George F. Hoar. 2. John Hay, Secretary of State. 3. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture. 4. Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury. 5. Henry C. Payne, Postmaster-General. 6. William H. Moody, Secretary of the Navy. 7. Cornelius N. Bliss, Ex-Secretary of the Interior. 8. William J. Bryan. 9. Gov. Franklin Murphy of New Jersey. 10. Gov. A. B. Cummins of Iowa. 11. Andrew D. White, Ex-Ambassador to Germany. 12. Henry White, Secretary American Embassy, London. 13. Maj.-Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, U. S. A. 14. Andrew S. Draper, University of Illinois. 15. Rear-Admiral John J. Read. 16. George E. Foss, Illinois Congressman. 17. Nicholas Murray Butler, Columbia University. 18. Woodrow Wilson, Princeton University. 19. E. Mayor des Planches, Italian Ambassador. 20. William R. Harper, Chicago University. 21. Chief-Justice Melville W. Fuller. 22. Sidney Lee, English Author. 23. St. Clair McKelway, Editor Brooklyn Eagle. 24. W. F. Draper, Ex-Ambassador to Italy. 25. W. Bourke Cockran, Orator. 26. Admiral Joseph B. Coghlan. 27. Jacob G. Schurman, Cornell University. 28. Gov. Sanford B. Dole of Hawaii. 29. Maj.-Gen. S. B. M. Young, Chief of General Staff, U. S. A. 30. Professor Chas. Eliot Norton, Harvard University. 31. Clifford Sifton, Minister of Interior, Canada. 32. Thos. Bailey Aldrich, Author. 33. Franklin MacVeagh, Chicago Financier. 34. Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor. 35. Edwin H. Conger, U. S. Minister to China. 36. Hugh Chisolm, Associate Editor London Times. 37. Senator John C. Spooner. 38. Senator Jacob H. Gallinger. 39. Henry B. Brown, Associate Justice U. S. Supreme Court. 40. John D. Long, Ex-Sec'y of the Navy. 41. Pres. William P. Frye, U. S. Senate. 42. Ignace J. Paderewski, Pianist. 43. Sir Horace Plunkett, English Economist. 44. Ex-Gov. Frank S. Black of New York. 45. Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood. 46. Sir Chentung Liang, Chinese Minister to U. S. 47. Ex-Gov. W. Murray Crane of

his Sistine Madonna or his Angelus: "Look at the expression in the child's eyes!" "Hear the bells ring!" Of course it's another affair with students, with most artists; they can't have paintings, except, God knows, their own, so they must put up with the best they can get, suggestions of better things."

"Then you have little sympathy with this striving to obtain certain startling and peculiar effects, or to imitate painting, which Mr. G. Bernard Shaw and other more or less brilliant writers have lauded so extravagantly?"

"No, I do not think this work will contribute to the elevation of the photographic art. In fact, I think it will rather tend to discredit photography, just as the spectacular performance of a sensational pulpit orator tends to detract from the dignity and influence of the pulpit. Referring specifically to Mr. Shaw's recent article on Alvin Langdon Coburn's photographic work, which appeared in the *Metropolitan Magazine*, I would say that the English playwright's views are very different from those of the ordinary professional photographer. He says: 'Good negatives are more the result of the survival of the fittest than of special creation; the photographer is like the cod which produces a million eggs that one may reach maturity.' Now that, it seems to me, is reducing photography to a game of chance,—making an indefinite number of negatives in hopes that purely by chance one will get

something that is available for use. There certainly is not a particle of science in aiming at anything with one's eyes shut. I could not hope to do business here without the assistance of people who practically make every movement count. Every negative, conditions being favorable, is available for printing purposes. Again, Mr. Shaw looks upon printing as the only test of the genuine expert photographer. I think the professional photographer looks upon printing as merely an incident. It is simply the publishing of the truth which is already recorded upon the plate."

"What do you think should be the constant aim of the photographer? Should he seek to reproduce the likeness of the sitter, giving prominence to the harder and harsher lines in a brutally realistic way, or should he seek by artistic treatment of the plate to preserve all the essentials of the portrait in such a way that the soul shall dominate rather than the rough exterior? I have myself seen many pictures of persons where the treatment of the photographic artist had been such that the picture represented the person at his very best—represented him as he appeared when all the intellectual and spiritual characteristics were dominating his being; and this was largely due, it seemed to me, to the genius of the photographer in the artistic treatment of the negative, for other pictures of the same person reproduced the material features in such a way that they dominated the

- Massachusetts. 48. Maj.-Gen. Oliver O. Howard, U. S. A. 49. John G. Milburn of Buffalo. 50. Senator Marcus A. Hanna. 51. Associate-Justice Joseph McKenna. 52. Secretary Elihu Root. 53. Sir Frederic Borden, Minister of Militia, Canada. 54. Ex-Gov. Geo. S. Boutwell of Massachusetts. 55. Robert Grant, Author and Jurist. 56. Wu Ting Fang, Ex-Minister of China to U. S. 57. Kogoro Takahira, Japanese Minister to U. S. 58. Dia.-Attorney Wm. T. Jerome of New York. 59. Lieut.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles. 60. Capt. Richard P. Hobson. 61. Benj. Ide Wheeler, University of California. 62. Rear-Admiral Francis H. Higginson. 63. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. 64. Maj.-Gen. Joseph B. Breckenridge. 65. Congressman Chas. E. Littlefield of Maine. 66. Edwin A. Abbey, R. A., Portrait Painter. 67. Joseph G. Cannon, Speaker of Congress. 68. Brig.-Gen. Joseph Wheeler. 69. John S. Sargent, Portrait Painter. 70. David J. Hill, Minister to Switzerland. 71. Senator Redfield Proctor of Vermont. 72. Edward Atkinson, Statistician. 73. George von L. Meyers, Ambassador to Italy. 74. Jules Cambon, Ex-Ambassador of France to U. S. 75. Rev. Francis E. Clark, Pres. Christian Endeavor Society. 76. Wm. T. Harris, U. S. Com. of Education. 77. Rear-Admiral Robley D. Evans. 78. Senator Thomas M. Patterson of Colorado. 79. Ex-Speaker David B. Henderson. 80. Count Cassini, Russian Ambassador to U. S. 81. Senator E. W. Carmack of Tennessee. 82. William Booth, Founder and Commander of the Salvation Army. 83. Winston Spencer Churchill, Mem. of Par. and War Correspondent. 84. Chas. J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore. 85. Admiral John C. Watson. 86. Judge Peter S. Grosscup. 87. Joseph Walton, Member of Parliament. 88. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor and Pres. of Clark University. 89. Chas. O'Neill, Admiral U. S. N. and Chief of Bureau of Ordnance. 90. H. L. Palmer, Sov. Grand Com. 33^d Masons and Pres. Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co. 91. Lord Brassey, Pres. London Chamber of Commerce. 92. John M. Hall, Pres. N. Y. N. H. & H. R. R. 93. Senator Francis G. Newlands of Nevada. 94. Ethan A. Hitchcock, Secretary of Interior. 95. Rev. Chas. H. Parkhurst, New York Reformer and Preacher. 96. Ernest Thompson-Seton, Naturalist and Author. 97. Rev. Lyman Abbott, Preacher. 98. Senator Nathan B. Scott of West Virginia. 99. F. Hopkinson Smith, Artist and Author. 100. Edward M. Shepard, New York Statesman.

picture almost to the entire exclusion of a suggestion of intellectual and spiritual force behind the facial mask. I should be very glad for any views you have to give us on this subject."

"The legitimate sphere of photography, as I have observed, is in my judgment to publish the truth, not only as it appears realistically, but to get at the soul and express *all*—the whole truth.

"Somewhere in the Constitution of the United States is a clause authorizing Congress to pass certain laws for the protection of mechanics and artisans who by their marked ingenuity, skill or cleverness may be deemed worthy of such protection. For this purpose the copyright and patent laws have been passed and enacted. The copyright laws under which the authors or proprietors of photographs, works of art and books are accorded protection have been the subject of more or less controversy in the courts from time to time. It has been decided that a purely mechanical photograph is not a proper subject for copyright protection, and some judges have gone so far as to express the opinion that no photograph of a piece of furniture or of a purely inanimate object could be a proper subject for copyright protection. A photograph of a ship might be such as would require more than ordinary skill to make. For instance, picturing the vessel in full sail, in such a position as to show effectively all the sails, rigging and lines with a certain artistic arrangement of lights and shadows, would be a very proper subject for protection as evidencing a display of skill and cleverness beyond the ordinary mechanic. This you will see is quite in line with my idea that the true mission of photography is to publish or portray the truth. The purely mechanical photograph of the ship gives the observer but the merest suggestion of its true shape and character, while the artistic picture, in which every sail filled with the breeze is distinctly visible, seems to fill one with the rush of the water, the sound of the wind, etc. So, too, the

purely mechanical photograph of a person, which gives but the merest suggestion of his true character, is not a proper subject for copyright because lacking in truth essentials. The aim of photography is to bring out or develop the truth, character and feature of the subject in its highest, loftiest sense."

"This I think you have succeeded in doing most admirably in your pictures," we ventured. "Take, for example, the photograph you took of Mr. Hearst and which I understand he is specially partial to. One critic not friendly to Mr. Hearst declared that the photograph was not like Hearst because it revealed a stronger face than he had; it suggested a man of more character than Mr. Hearst possessed. That criticism was made when the enemies of the late Democratic candidate for governor was being sneered at as a myth and a man of straw; but after the recent campaign I imagine few even of his enemies doubted the reality of the man Hearst, and if they chose to speak what was in their hearts, I imagine they would have admitted that he possessed the strength of character and reserve power which your photograph revealed. You merely caught the image when his face expressed the real man behind the somewhat mask-like visage. Here the camera revealed more than the superficial observer detected, because it caught the man when the real strength of his nature looked forth. So in the late pictures of the poet Joaquin Miller, and so in the admirable portraits of John S. Sargent, William Ordway Partridge, Professor Ostwald, John A. S. Monks, Professor Frederick de Sumichrast, and hundreds of other eminent men and women. In every instance, it seems to me, you have done precisely what the true photographic artist should ever strive to accomplish,—reproduce the exact likeness at the moment when the mental and emotional faculties illuminate the face. And this I understand is what the legitimate photographer strives to achieve. Now one more question: Do you favor the ironing

out of the wrinkles or toning down the picture to make it pretty or more pleasing to the subject?"

"Most assuredly not. We aim to religiously preserve every wrinkle which is a record,—everything, in short, which the camera reveals. True, there are workmen who have a mania for retouching and ironing out wrinkles, but this is something which we constantly fight against, our object being to give a true image of the subject we are portraying."

Mr. Purdy in common with other photographic artists makes excursions into the by-ways for results that are legitimate and based on the underlying laws of the art. His crayon portraits are famous for their accuracy. The photograph is first taken; then everything but the barest outline is washed out with cyanide, after which the portrait is drawn in with crayon.



Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

MRS. JACK LONDON.



Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

JACK LONDON.

Two admirable examples of this character are the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Jack London, which were photographed from the crayon originals by the artist for this paper. These portraits are regarded by the popular novelist and his wife as exceptionally fine likenesses. They are of peculiar interest at the present time when Mr. London and his wife are on the high seas, making an attempt to circle the globe in their little 45-foot boat, "The Snark," with only three other souls on board.

An illustration of special interest in this number is the reproduction, greatly reduced, of "One Hundred Distinguished Men of To-day," made up by Mr. Purdy from portraits he has taken.

Mr. Purdy, as has been seen from the above, does not believe in the photographer attempting to invade the realm of



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LILLIAN LAWRENCE AS "THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA."

the artist of the brush. At the special request of certain friends he has made some photographs of subjects made famous in paintings, and with his permission we present three specimens of this character. They are beautiful to look upon, but being descriptive they soon lose compelling power over the imagination, if not associated with something that awakens tender sentiments or calls up cherished memories. We look on the photograph of a loved friend and say, "How beautiful!" True, but if that friend were the brother or the lover of a German maiden or a Spanish *señorita* instead of a member of our cherished circle, we should soon tire of looking at

it; it is too descriptive. We should soon read all the face had to tell us and our interest in it would then wane. Herein lies one great difference between photography, when it relates to objects which hold no personal interest or special charm for us, and great creative or impressionistic art work.

If the reader could go with us into the studio of a really great painter, like J. J. Enneking of Boston, bearing with him some of the best specimens of purely impersonal photography which had no charm other than their claims to beauty or interest such as might appeal to the artistic taste, he would, we think, quickly see and feel the difference be-

tween photography and the painter's canvas. He would soon tire of the purely descriptive subject; but let him look at one of Mr. Enneking's paintings,—say of the crest of Chocorua at dawn. There he would see no brilliant color-effects, the tones are low, but the message to the imagination is compelling. He would feel the coming of the dawn. The crest of the noble New England mountain lies naked and unadorned in the warm glow of the early sunlight, while the slopes are wrapped in the veil-like haze of departing night. Only the faint colors and outlines of the sides of the mountain with its mantle of verdure, its suggestions of rocks and ravines, are discernible. The picture is



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LOTTIE ADAMS AS "A DAUGHTER OF THE TEMPLE."

big with interest. It rivets the eye; it enthralls the imagination. We feel the scene; we are again at the foot of the grand old mountain. The magic of mystery we have felt in other days when watching the dawn stream over its bare, seamed and scarred crest, is once more

of dawn in the forest in spring. This also is in the mountains, but no special spot or spot known to us. Here again we come under this indescribable spell; the witchery of nature is upon us. Train after train of thought is awakened. Here is the indefinable mystery, the something



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"THE SINGING LESSON" BY BLANCHE AND IDA ROSE.

upon us. The longer we look on the picture the more striking it becomes. It is a scene that grows in fascination; we never weary of it, although there is no living sentient object on the canvas.

But you may say that here is the charm of association, just as in the photograph of a spot hallowed by memory. Very well, let us turn to another picture, that

that lures the imagination and which lies just beyond those flower-decked trees that are flinging their incense upon the heavy but balmy air. Or let us look at that scene in the heart of the wood. It is eventide. There are some cattle drinking at the pool. The colors are subdued, but the power of the picture over the imagination is greater than that of the most

brilliant and gorgeous canvas that is merely descriptive. And what is more, neither you nor I would ever tire of one of these pictures.

Here is a picture that does not impress you particularly at first, so much as a more brilliant and detailed sketch visible across the room. You look at it, however, with special interest, since the artist tells you he has been at work on it for fifteen years, and soon you wonder why it compels your eye to return again and again to it when other more pretentious pictures are less attractive. If you look at it closely it looks like a daub;

if you are in search of brilliant color and clear-cut lines you must look elsewhere; but here in this picture your imagination is led into a thralldom that at first may seem inexplicable. This is the picture you wish to feast your eyes upon, for when looking here you feel what you have felt

at rare moments since childhood when alone in the forest when nature wove her robe of enchantment before your eyes. Here are the beauty, the poetry, the music that have been known to the holiest of holies of your being.

Now you will understand the gulf between the art of the photographer and the art of the great master-impressionistic painters. You have seen the extremes of descriptive and impressionistic work. But because you have seen and felt all this, do you despise the photographer's art? By no means. You understand its spirit, its value—its measureless value

—in certain directions; but you also understand how futile and pitiful it is for men to talk of the photographer supplanting the master of the brush and pigment.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.



Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

MISS PAULINE FREDERICK.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES DEMANDED TO BULWARK DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK, LL.D.,
Chief-Justice of North Carolina.

I.

IN THE following paper I have pointed out some defects in the Constitution of the United States which call for a constitutional convention to revise that instrument in order to make it responsive

to the fundamental requirements of democratic government. The amendments which I suggest and discuss are briefly as follows: (1) Election of senators, judges and postmasters by the people;

(2) the electoral vote in each State to be divided *pro rata* according to popular vote therein for each candidate; (3) term of President six years, and ineligible for reelection; (4) repeal, or modification, of the Fourteenth Amendment; (5) each Congress to expire at the election of its successor.

II.

At Philadelphia, on July 4, ¹⁷⁷⁶1776, was proclaimed "Liberty throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants thereof." And there, too, eleven years later, was another notable event, when on September 17, 1787, was issued to the world the Constitution of these United States. It is the latter—"its defects and the necessity for its revision"—that I wish to discuss.

Just here it is well to call to mind the radical difference between these two Conventions. That which met in 1776 was frankly democratic. Success in its great and perilous undertaking was only possible with the support of the people. The Great Declaration was an appeal to the masses. It declared that all men were "created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights—among them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—to secure which rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that when government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and institute a new government in such form as shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." Never was the right of revolution more clearly asserted or that government existed for the sole benefit of the people, who were declared to be equal and endowed with the right to change their government at will when it did not subserve their welfare or obey their wishes. Not a word about property. Everything was about the people. The man was more than the dollar then. And the Convention was in earnest.

Every member signed the Declaration, which was unanimously voted. As Dr. Franklin pertinently observed, it behooved them "to hang together or they would hang separately."

The Convention which met in 1787 was as reactionary as the other had been revolutionary and democratic. It had its beginning in commercial negotiations between the States. Wearied with a long war, enthusiasm for liberty somewhat relaxed by the pressing need to earn the comforts and necessities of life whose stores had been diminished, and oppressed by the ban upon prosperity caused by the uncertainties and impotence of the existing government of the Confederacy the Convention of 1787 came together. Ignoring the maxim that government should exist only by the consent of the governed, it sat with closed doors, that no breath of the popular will should affect their decisions. To free the members from all responsibility, members were prohibited to make copies of any resolution or to correspond with constituents or others about matters pending before the Convention. Any record of Yeas and Nays was forbidden and was kept without the knowledge of the Convention. The journal was kept secret, a vote to destroy it fortunately failed, and Mr. Madison's copy was published only after the lapse of forty-nine years, when every member had passed beyond human accountability. Only 12 States were ever represented, and one of these withdrew before the final result was reached. Of its 65 members only 55 ever attended, and so far from being unanimous, only 39 signed the Constitution, and some actively opposed its ratification by their own States.

That the Constitution thus framed was reactionary was a matter of course. There was, as we know, some talk of a royal government, with Frederick, Duke of York, second son of George the Third, as King. Hamilton, whose subsequent great services as Secretary of the Treasury have crowned him with a halo, and whose

tragic death has obliterated the memory of his faults, declared himself in favor of the English form of government with its hereditary Executive and its House of Lords, which he denominated "a most noble institution." Failing in that, he advocated an Executive elected by Congress for life, Senators and Judges for life, and Governors of States to be appointed by the President. Of these he secured, as it has proved, the most important from his standpoint, the creation of Judges for life. The Convention was aware that a Constitution on Hamilton's lines could not secure ratification by the several States. But the Constitution adopted was made as undemocratic as possible, and was very far from responding to the condition, laid down in the Declaration of 1776, that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Hamilton, in a speech to the Convention, stated that the members were agreed that "we need to be rescued from the democracy." They were rescued. Thomas Jefferson unfortunately was absent as our Minister to France and took no part in the Convention, though we owe largely to him the compromise by which the first ten amendments were agreed to be adopted in exchange for ratification by several States which otherwise would have been withheld.

In truth, the consent of the governed was not to be asked. In the new government the will of the people was not to control and was little to be consulted. Of the three great departments of the government—Legislative, Executive and Judiciary—the people were entrusted with the election only of the House of Representatives, to-wit, only one-sixth of the government, even if that House had been made equal in authority and power with the Senate, which was very far from being the case. The Declaration of 1776 was concerned with the rights of man. The Convention of 1787 entirely ignored them. There was no Bill of Rights and the guarantees of the

great rights of freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of religion, liberty of the people to assemble, and right of petition, the right to bear arms, exemption from soldiers being quartered upon the people, exemption from general warrants, the right of trial by jury and a grand jury, protection of the law of the land and protection from seizure of private property for other than public use, and then only upon just compensation; the prohibition of excessive bail or cruel and unusual punishment, and the reservation to the people and the States of all rights not granted by the Constitution—all these matters of the utmost importance to the rights of the people—were omitted and were inserted by the first ten amendments only because it was necessary to give assurances that such amendments would be adopted in order to secure the ratification of the Constitution by the several States.

The Constitution was so far from being deemed satisfactory, even to the people, and in the circumstances of the time for which it was framed, that, as already stated, only 11 States voted for its adoption by the Convention, and only 39 members out of 55 attending signed it, some members subsequently opposing its ratification. Its ratification by the conventions in the several States was carried with the greatest difficulty, and in no State was it submitted to a vote of the people themselves. Massachusetts ratified only after a close vote and with a demand for amendments. South Carolina and New Hampshire also demanded amendments, as also did Virginia and New York, both of which voted ratification by the narrowest majorities and reserving to themselves the right to withdraw, and two states rejected the Constitution and subsequently ratified only after Washington had been elected and inaugurated—matters in which they had no share.

George Washington was President of the Convention, it is true, but as such was debarred from sharing in the de-

bates. His services, great as they were, had been military, not civil, and he left no impress upon the instrument of union so far as known. Yet it was admitted that but for his popularity and influence the Constitution would have failed of ratification by the several States, especially in Virginia. Indeed, but for his great influence the Convention would have adjourned without putting its final hand to the Constitution, as it came very near doing. Even his greatest influence would not have availed but for the overwhelming necessity for some form of government as a substitute for the rickety "Articles of Confederation," which were utterly inefficient and whose longer retention threatened civil war.

An instrument so framed, adopted with such difficulty and ratified after such efforts, and by such narrow margins, could not have been a fair and full expression of the consent of the governed. The men that made it did not deem it perfect. Its friends agreed to sundry amendments, ten in number, which were adopted by the first Congress that met. The assumption by the new Supreme Court of a power not contemplated, even by the framers of the Constitution, to drag a State before it as defendant in an action by a citizen of another State, caused the enactment of the Eleventh Amendment. The unfortunate method prescribed for the election of the President nearly caused a civil war in 1801 and forced the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment, and three others were brought about as the result of the great Civil war. The Convention of 1787 recognized itself that the defects innate in the Constitution and which would be developed by experience and the lapse of time, would require amendments, and that instrument prescribed two different methods by which amendments could be made.

Our Federal Constitution was adopted 119 years ago. In that time every State has radically revised its Constitution, and most of them several times. Indeed,

the Constitution of New York requires that the question of a Constitutional Convention shall be submitted to its people at least once every twenty years. The object is that the organic law shall keep abreast of the needs and wants of the people and shall represent the will and progress of to-day, and shall not, as is the case with the Federal Constitution, be hampered by provisions deemed best by the divided counsels of a small handful of men, in providing for the wants of the government of nearly a century and a quarter ago. Had those men been gifted with divine foresight and created a Constitution fit for this day and its development, it would have been unsuited for the needs of the times in which it was fashioned.

When the Constitution was adopted in 1787 it was intended for 3,000,000 of people, scattered along the Atlantic slope, from Massachusetts to the southern boundary of Georgia. We are now trying to make it do duty for very nearly 100,000,000, from Maine to Manila, from Panama and Porto Rico to the Pole. Then our population was mostly rural, for three years later, at the first Census in 1790, we had but five towns in the whole Union which had as many as 6,500 inhabitants each, and only two others had over 4,000. Now we have the second largest city on the globe, with over 4,000,000 of inhabitants, and many that have passed the half-million mark, some of them of over a million population. Three years later, in 1790, we had 75 post-offices with \$37,000 annual post-office expenditures. Now we have 75,000 post-offices, 35,000 rural delivery routes and a post-office appropriation of nearly \$200,000,000.

During the first ten years the total expenditures of the Federal Government, including payments on the Revolutionary debts, and including even the pensions, averaged \$10,000,000 annually. Now the expenditures are seventy-five times as much. When the Constitution was adopted, Virginia was easily the first

State in influence, population and wealth, having one-fourth the population of the entire Union. North Carolina was third, and New York, which then stood fifth, now has double the population of the whole country at that date, and several other States have now a population greater than the original Union, whose very names were then unheard and over whose soil the savage and the buffalo roamed unmolested. Steamboats, railroads, gas, electricity (except as a toy in Franklin's hands), coal mines, petroleum, and a thousand other things which are a part of our lives to-day, were undiscovered.

Corporations, which now control the country and its government, were then so few that not till four years later, in 1791, was the first bank incorporated (in New York), and the charter for the second bank was only obtained by the subtlety of Aaron Burr, who concealed the banking privileges in an act incorporating a water company—and corporations have had an affinity for water ever since.

Had the Constitution been perfectly adapted to the needs and wishes of the people of that day, we would still have outgrown it. Time has revealed flaws in the original instrument, and it was, as might be expected, wholly without safeguards against that enormous growth of corporations, and even of individuals, in wealth and power, which has subverted the control of the government.

The glaring defect in the Constitution was that it was not democratic. It gave, as already pointed out, to the people—to the governed—the selection of only one-sixth of the government, to-wit, one-half—by far the weaker half—of the Legislative Department. The other half, the Senate, was made elective at second hand by the State Legislatures, and the Senators were given not only longer terms, but greater power, for all Presidential appointments, and treaties, were subjected to confirmation by the Senate.

The President was intended to be elected at a still further remove from the people, by being chosen by electors, who,

it was expected, would be selected by the State Legislatures. The President thus was to be selected at third hand, as it were. In fact, down till after the memorable contest between Adams, Clay, Crawford and Jackson, in 1824, in the majority of the States the Presidential electors were chosen by the State Legislatures, and they were so chosen by South Carolina till after the Civil war, and, in fact, by Colorado in 1876. The intention was that the electors should make independent choice, but public opinion forced the transfer of the choice of electors from the Legislatures to the ballot-box, and then made of them mere figure-heads, with no power but to voice the will of the people, who thus captured the Executive Department. That Department, with the House of Representatives, mark to-day the extent of the share of the people in this government.

The Judiciary were placed a step still further removed from the popular choice. The Judges were to be selected at fourth hand by a President (intended to be selected at third hand) and subject to confirmation by a Senate chosen at second hand. And to make the Judiciary absolutely impervious to any consideration of the "consent of the governed," they are appointed for life.

It will be seen at a glance that a Constitution so devised was intended not to express, but to suppress, or at least disregard, the wishes and the consent of the governed. It was admirably adapted for what has come to pass—the absolute domination of the government by the "business interests" which, controlling vast amounts of capital and intent on more, can secure the election of Senators by the small constituencies, the Legislatures which elect them, and can dictate the appointment of Judges, and if they fail in that, the Senate, chosen under their auspices, can defeat the nomination. Should the President favor legislation and the House of Representatives pass the bill, the Senate, with its majority chosen by corporation influences, can

defeat it; and if by any chance it shall yield to the popular will and pass the bill, as was the case with the income-tax, there remains the Judiciary, who have assumed, without any warrant, expressed or implied in the Constitution, the power to declare any act unconstitutional at their own will and without responsibility to any one.

The people's part in the government in the choice of the House of Representatives, even when reinforced by the Executive, whose election they have captured, is an absolute nullity in the face of the Senate and the Judiciary, in whose selection the people have no voice. This, therefore, is the government of the United States—a government by the Senate and Judges—that is to say, frankly, by whatever power can control the selection of Senators and Judges. What is that power? We know that it is not the American people.

Let us not be deceived by forms, but look at the substance. Government rests not upon forms, but upon a true reply to the question, "Where does the governing power reside?" The Roman legions bore to the last day of the empire upon their standards the words, "The Senate and the Roman People," long centuries after the real power had passed from the *curia* and the *comitia* to the barracks of the Pretorian Guard, and when there was no will in Rome save that of their master. There were still Tribunes of the People, and Consuls, and a Senate, and the title of a Republic; but the real share of the people in the Roman government was the donation to them of "bread and circuses" by their tyrants.

Years after the victor of Marengo had been crowned Emperor and the sword of Austerlitz had become the one power in France, the French coins and official documents still bore the inscription of "French Republic"—"*République Française*."

In England to-day there is a monarchy in form, but we know that in truth the real government of England is vested in

a single House of Parliament, elected by the people, under a restricted suffrage; that the real Executive is not the King, but the Prime-Minister and his cabinet, practically elected by that House of Commons; that the King has not even the veto power, except nominally, since it has not been exercised in a single instance for more than 200 years, and that the sole function of the House of Lords—a club of rich men representing great vested interests—is in the exercise of a suspensive veto (of which the King has been deprived), which is exercised only till the Commons make up their mind the bill shall pass—when the House of Lords always gives way, as the condition upon which their continued existence rests. So in this country we retain the forms of a Republic. We still choose our President and the House of Representatives by the people; but the real power does not reside in them or in the people. It rests with those great "interests" which select the majority of the Senate and the Judges.

This being the situation, the sole remedy possible is by amendment of the Constitution to make it democratic, and place the selection of these preponderating bodies in the hands of the people.

III.

First, the election of Senators should be given to the people. Even then consolidated wealth will secure some of the Senators; but it would not be able, as now, at all times to count with absolute certainty upon a majority of the Senate as its creatures. Five times has a bill, proposing such amendment to the constitution, passed the House of Representatives by a practically unanimous vote, and each time it has been lost in the Senate; but never by a direct vote. It has always been disposed of by the chloroform process of referring the bill to a committee, which never reports it back, and never will. It is too much to expect that the great corporations which control a majority of the Senate will ever

voluntarily transfer to the people their profitable and secure hold upon supreme power by permitting the passage of an amendment to elect Senators by the people. The only hope is in the alternative plan of amendment, authorized by the Constitution, to-wit, the call of a Constitutional Convention upon the application of two-thirds of the States, to-wit, thirty States. More than that number have already instructed in favor of an amendment to elect Senators by the people.

It may be recalled here that in the Convention of 1787 Pennsylvania did vote for the election of Senators by the people. A strong argument used against this was that the farming interest, being the largest, would control the House and that the Senate could only be given to the commercial interests by making its members elective by the Legislatures—which was prophetic—though the deciding influence was the fear of the small States that if the Senate was elected by the people its membership would be based on population.

It is high time that we had a Constitutional Convention, after the lapse of near a century and a score of years. The same reasons which have time and again caused the individual States to amend their Constitutions imperatively require a Convention to adjust the Constitution of the Union to the changed conditions of the times and to transfer to the people themselves that control of the government which is now exercised for the profit and benefit of the "interests." Those interests, with all the power of their money and the large part of the press which they own or control, will resist the call of such a convention. They will be aided, doubtless, by some of the smaller States who may fear a loss of their equal representation in the Senate. But in truth and justice it may be that there might be some modification now in that respect without injury to the smaller States. There is no longer any reason why Delaware, or Nevada, or Rhode Island, should have as many Senators as

New York, or Pennsylvania, or Illinois. It would be enough to grant to every State having a million of inhabitants or less, one Senator, and to allot to each State having over one million of inhabitants an additional Senator for every million above one million and for a fractional part if over three-quarters of a million. This, while not putting the Senate frankly on the basis of population, would remove the dissatisfaction with the present unjust ratio and would quiet the opposition to the admission of new States whose area and development entitle them to self-government, but whose population does not entitle them to two Senators.

IV.

The election of the President is now made by the people, who have captured it, though the Constitution did not intend the people should have any choice in naming the Executive. The dangerous and unsafe plan adopted in 1787 was changed in consequence of the narrowly-averted disaster in 1801. But the method in force still leaves much to be desired. It readily lends itself to the choice of a minority candidate. It is an anomaly that 1,100 votes in New York (as in 1884) should swing 70 electoral votes (35 from one candidate to the other) and thus decide the result. The consequence is that while, nominally, any citizen of the Republic is eligible to the Presidency, only citizens of two or three of the larger States, with doubtful electoral votes, are in fact eligible. All others are barred. For proof of this, look at the history of our Presidential electors. For the first forty years of the Union the Presidents were confined to two States—Virginia and Massachusetts. Then there came a period when the growing West required recognition, and Tennessee, Ohio, and New York commanded the situation for the next sixteen years. The Mexican war gave us a soldier who practically represented no State, and was succeeded by a New Yorker. Then for the only

time in our history "off States" had a showing, and Pennsylvania and New Hampshire had their innings. Since then the successful candidates have been again strictly limited to "pivotal States"—New York in the East and Illinois, Indiana and Ohio in the West.

This condition is unsatisfactory. The magnetic Blaine from Maine was defeated, as was Bryan from Nebraska. Had the former hailed from New York and the latter from Illinois, the electoral votes and influence of those States would have secured their election.

It would be dangerous, and almost a certain provocation of civil war, to change the election of President to a per capita vote by the whole of the Union. Then a charge of fraudulent vote at any precinct or voting place, however remote, might affect the result; and as frauds would most likely occur in those States where the majorities are largest—as in Pennsylvania or Texas, Ohio or Georgia—a contest would always be certain. Whereas, now, frauds in States giving large majorities, unless of great enough magnitude to change the electoral vote of the State, can have no effect. The remedy is, preserving the electoral vote system as now, and giving the smaller States, as now, the advantage of electoral votes to represent their Senators, to divide the electoral vote of each State according to the popular vote for each candidate, giving each his *pro rata* of the electoral vote on that basis, the odd elector being apportioned to the candidate having the largest fraction. Thus in New York, Mr. Blaine would have gotten 17 electoral votes and Mr. Cleveland 18. Other States would have also divided, more or less evenly; but the result would be that the choice of President would no longer be restricted to two or three States, as in our past history, and is likely to be always the case as long as the whole electoral vote of two or three large pivotal States must swing to one side or the other and determine the result. This change would avoid the present evil of large sums

being spent to carry the solid electoral vote of "pivotal" States, for there would cease to be "pivotal" States. At the same time this would avoid the open gulf into which a per capita ballot by the whole Union would lead us. While the electoral vote of a State should be divided, *pro rata*, according to the popular vote for each candidate, it is essential that each State should vote as one district, since its boundaries are unchangeable. To permit the Legislature of each State to divide it into electoral districts would simply open up competition in the art of gerrymandering.

V.

By the Convention of 1787 the term of the President was originally fixed at seven years and he was made ineligible for reelection. This was reduced to four years by a compromise that he would be reelected without limitation. This was done in the interest of those who favored a strong government and a long tenure. Washington imposed a limitation by his example which will not always be binding. An amendment making the term six years and the President ineligible to reelection has long been desired by a large portion of the public. Indeed, when the Constitutional Convention of the Union shall assemble, as it must do some day, to remodel our Constitution to fit it to face the dangers and conform to the views of the people of this age, with the aid of our experience, in the past, it is more than probable that the powers of the Executive will be more restricted. His powers are now greater than those of any sovereign of Europe. The real restrictions upon Executive power at present are not in Constitutional provisions, but in the Senate and Judiciary, which often negative the popular will, which he represents more accurately than they.

VI.

And now we come to the most important of the changes necessary to place the government of the Union in the hands of

the people. By far the most serious defect and danger in the Constitution is the appointment of Judges for life, subject to confirmation by the Senate. It is a far more serious matter than it was when the Convention of 1787 framed the Constitution. A proposition was made in the Convention—as we now know from Mr. Madison's Journal—that the Judges should pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress. This was defeated June 4th, receiving the vote of only two States. It was renewed no less than three times, *i. e.*, on June 6th, July 21st, and finally again for the fourth time on August 15th; and though it had the powerful support of Mr. Madison and Mr. James Wilson, at no time did it receive the votes of more than three States. On this last occasion (August 15th) Mr. Mercer thus summed up the thought of the Convention: "He disapproved of the doctrine, that the Judges, as expositors of the Constitution, should have authority to declare a law void. He thought laws ought to be well and cautiously made, and then to be incontrovertible."

Prior to the Convention, the courts of four States, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Virginia and North Carolina, had expressed an opinion that they could hold acts of the Legislature unconstitutional. This was a new doctrine never held before (nor in any other country since) and met with strong disapproval. In Rhode Island the movement to remove the offending Judges was stopped only on a suggestion that they could be "dropped" by the Legislature at the annual election, which was done. The decisions of these four States were recent and well-known to the Convention. Mr. Madison and Mr. Wilson liked the new doctrine of the paramount judiciary, doubtless deeming it a safe check upon legislation to be operated only by lawyers. They attempted to get it into the Federal Constitution in its least objectionable shape—the judicial veto before final passage of an act, which would save time and

besides would enable the Legislature to avoid the objections raised. But even in this diluted form, and though four times presented by these two very able and influential members, the suggestion of a judicial veto at no time received the votes of more than one-fourth of the States.

The subsequent action of the Supreme Court in assuming the power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional was without a line in the Constitution to authorize it, either expressly or by implication. The Constitution recited carefully and fully the matters over which the courts should have jurisdiction, and there is nothing, and after the above vote four times refusing jurisdiction there could be nothing, indicating any power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional and void.

Had the Convention given such power to the courts, it certainly would not have left its exercise final and unreviewable. It gave the Congress power to override the veto of the President, though that veto was expressly given, thus showing that in the last analysis the will of the people, speaking through the legislative power, should govern. Had the Convention supposed the courts would assume such power, it would certainly have given Congress some review over judicial action and certainly would not have made the Judges irretrievably beyond "the consent of the governed" and regardless of the popular will by making them appointive and further clothing them with the undemocratic prerogative of tenure for life.

Such power does not exist in any other country and never has. It is therefore not essential to our security. It is not conferred by the Constitution, but, on the contrary, the Convention, as we have seen, after the fullest debate, four times, on four several days, refused by a decisive vote to confer such power. The Judges not only have never exercised such power in England, where there is no written Constitution, but they do not exercise it in France, Germany, Austria,

Denmark, or in any other country which, like them, has a written Constitution.

A more complete denial of popular control of this government could not have been conceived than the placing such unreviewable power in the hands of men not elected by the people and holding office for life. The legal-tender act, the financial policy of the government, was invalidated by one court and then validated by another, after a change in its *personnel*. Then the income-tax, which had been held constitutional by the Court for an hundred years, was again so held, and then by a sudden change of vote by one Judge it was held unconstitutional, nullified and set at naught, though it had passed by a nearly unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress, containing many lawyers who were the equals if not the superiors of the vacillating Judge, and had been approved by the President and voiced the will of the people. This was all negated (without any warrant in the Constitution for the Court to set aside an act of Congress) by the vote of one Judge: and thus one hundred million dollars, and more, of annual taxation, was transferred from those most able to bear it and placed upon the backs of those who already carried far more than their fair share of the burdens of government. Under an untrue assumption of authority given by thirty-nine dead men one man nullified the action of Congress and the President and the will of seventy-five millions of living people, and in the thirteen years since has taxed the property and labor of the country, by his sole vote, \$1,300,000,000, which Congress, in compliance with the public will and relying on previous decisions of the Court, had decreed should be paid out of the excessive incomes of the rich.

In England one-third of the revenue is derived from the superfluities of the very wealthy, by the levy of a graduated income-tax, and a graduated inheritance-tax, increasing the per cent. with the size of the income. The same system is in force in all other civilized countries. In

not one of them would the hereditary monarch venture to veto or declare null such a tax. In this country alone, the people, speaking through their Congress, and with the approval of their Executive, cannot put in force a single measure of any nature whatever with assurance that it shall meet with the approval of the courts; and its failure to receive such approval is fatal, for, unlike the veto of the Executive, the unanimous vote of Congress (and the income-tax came near receiving such vote) cannot avail against it. Of what avail shall it be that Congress has conformed to the popular demand and enacted a "Rate Regulation" bill and the President has approved it, if five lawyers, holding office for life and not elected by the people, shall see fit to destroy it, as they did the income-tax law? Is such a government a reasonable one, and can it be longer tolerated after 120 years of experience have demonstrated the capacity of the people for self-government? If five lawyers can negative the will of 100,000,000 of men, then the art of government is reduced to the selection of those five lawyers.

VII.

A power without limit, except in the shifting views of the court, lies in the construction placed upon the Fourteenth Amendment, which passed, as every one knows, solely to prevent discrimination against the colored race, has been construed by the Court to confer upon it jurisdiction to hold any provision of any statute whatever "not due process of law." This draws the whole body of the reserved rights of the States into the maelstrom of the Federal Courts, subject only to such forbearance as the Federal Supreme Court of the day, or in any particular case, may see fit to exercise. The limits between State and Federal jurisdiction depend upon the views of five men at any given time; and we have a government of men and not a government of laws, prescribed beforehand.

At first the Court generously exempted from its veto, the Police power of the several States. But since then it has proceeded to set aside an act of the Legislature of New York restricting excessive hours of labor, which act had been sustained by the highest court in that great State. Thus labor can obtain no benefit from the growing humanity of the age, expressed by the popular will in any State, if such statute does not meet the views of five elderly lawyers, selected by influences naturally antagonistic to the laboring classes and whose training and daily associations certainly cannot incline them in favor of restrictions upon the power of the employer.

The preservation of the autonomy of the several States and of local self-government is essential to the maintenance of our liberties, which would expire in the grasp of a consolidated despotism. Nothing can save us from this centripetal force but the speedy repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment or a recasting of its language in terms that no future court can misinterpret it.

The vast political power now asserted and exercised by the court to set aside public policies, after their full determination by Congress, cannot safely be left in the hands of any body of men without supervision or control by any other authority whatever. If the President errs, his mandate expires in four years, and his party as well as himself is accountable to the people at the ballot-box for his stewardship. If members of Congress err, they too must account to their constituents. But the Federal Judiciary hold for life, and though popular sentiment should change the entire *personnel* of the other two great departments of government, a whole generation must pass before the people could get control of the Judiciary, which possesses an irresponsible and unrestricted veto upon the action of the other departments—irresponsible because impeachment has become impossible, and if it were possible it could not be invoked as to erroneous

decisions, unless corruption were shown.

The control of the policy of government is thus not in the hands of the people, but in the power of a small body of men not chosen by the people, and holding for life. In many cases which might be mentioned, had the Court been elective, men not biased in favor of colossal wealth would have filled more seats upon the bench, and if there had been such decision as the income-tax, long ere this, under the tenure of a term of years, new incumbents would have been chosen, who, returning to the former line of decisions, would have upheld the right of Congress to control the financial policy of the government in accordance with the will of the people of this day and age, and not according to the shifting views which the Court has imputed to language used by the majority of the fifty-five men who met in Philadelphia in 1787. Such methods of controlling the policy of a government are no whit more tolerable than the conduct of the augurs of old who gave the permission for peace or war, for battle or other public movements, by declaring from the flight of birds, the inspection of the entrails of fowls, or other equally wise devices, that the omens were lucky or unlucky—the rules of such divination being in their own breasts and hence their decisions beyond remedy.

It may be that this power in the courts, however illegally grasped originally, has been too long acquiesced in to be now questioned. If so, the only remedy which can be applied is to make the Judges elective, and for a term of years, for no people can permit its will to be denied, and its destinies shaped, by men it did not choose, and over whose conduct it has no control, by reason of its having no power to change them and select other agents at the close of a fixed term.

Every Federal Judgeship below the Supreme Court can be abolished by an act of Congress, since the power which creates a Federal district or circuit can abolish it at will. If Congress can abolish one, it can abolish all. Several districts

have from time to time been abolished, notably two in 1801; and we know that the sixteen Circuit Judges created by the Judiciary Act of 1801 were abolished eighteen months later.

It is true that under the stress of a great public sentiment every United States District and Circuit Judge can be legislated out of office by a simple act of Congress, and a new system recreated with new Judges. It is also true, as has been pointed out by distinguished lawyers, that while the Supreme Court cannot be thus abolished, it exercises its appellate functions "with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make" (Constitution, Art. III., sec. 2), and as Congress enacted the Judiciary Act of 1789, it has often amended it, and can repeal it. Judge Marshall recognized this in *Marbury vs. Madison*, in which case in an *obiter* opinion he had asserted the power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional, for he wound up by refusing the logical result, the issuing of the mandamus sought, because Congress had not conferred jurisdiction upon the Supreme Court to issue it.

In 1831 the attempt was made to repeal section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789, by virtue of which writs of error lay to the State Supreme Courts in certain cases. Though the section was not repealed, the repeal was supported and voted for by both Henry Clay, James K. Polk, and other leaders of both of the great parties of that day. But what is needed is not the exercise of these powers which Congress undoubtedly possesses and in an emergency will exercise, but a constitutional revision by which the Federal Judges, like other public servants, shall be chosen by the people for a term of years.

It may be said that the Federal Judges are now in office for life and it would be unjust to dispossess them. So it was with the State Judges in each State when it changed from life Judges to Judges elected by the people; but that did not stay the hand of a much-needed reform.

It must be remembered that when our Federal Constitution was adopted in 1787, in only one State was the Governor elected by the people, and the Judges in none, and that in most, if not all, the States, the Legislature, especially the Senate branch, was chosen by a restricted suffrage. The schoolmaster was not abroad in the land, the masses were illiterate and government by the people was a new experiment and property-holders were afraid of it. The danger to property rights did not come then, as now, from the other direction—from the corporations and others holding vast accumulations of capital and by its power threatening to crush those owning modest estates.

In the State governments the conditions existing in 1787 have long since been changed. In all the States the Governor and the members of both branches of the Legislature have long since been made elective by manhood suffrage. In all the forty-five States save four (Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island), the Judges now hold for a term of years, and in three of these they are removable (as in England) upon a majority vote of the Legislature, thus preserving a supervision of their conduct which is utterly lacking as to the Federal Judiciary. In Rhode Island the Judges were thus dropped summarily, once, when they had held an act of the Legislature invalid. In thirty-three States the Judges are elected by the people, in five States by the Legislature, and in seven States they are appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate. Even in England the Judges hold office subject to removal upon the vote of a bare majority in Parliament—though there the Judges have never asserted any power to set aside an act of Parliament. There the will of the people, when expressed through their representatives in Parliament, is final. The King cannot veto it, and no Judge has ever dreamed he had the power to set it aside.

There are those who believe and have asserted that corporate wealth can exert

such influence that even if Judges are not actually selected by the great corporations, no Judge can take his seat upon the Federal bench if his nomination and confirmation are opposed by the allied plutocracy. It has never been charged that such Judges are corruptly influenced. But the passage of a Judge from the bar to the bench does not necessarily destroy his prejudices or his predilections. If they go upon the bench knowing that this potent influence if not used for them, at least withheld its opposition to their appointment, or their confirmation, and usually with a natural and perhaps unconscious bias from having spent their lives at the bar in advocacy of corporate claims, this will unconsciously, but effectively, be reflected in the decisions they make. Having attempted as lawyers to persuade courts to view debated questions from the standpoint of aggregated wealth, they often end by believing sincerely in the correctness of such views, and not unnaturally put them in force when in turn they themselves ascend the bench. This trend in Federal decisions has been pronounced. Then, too, incumbents of seats upon the Federal Circuit and District bench cannot be oblivious to the influence which procures promotion; and how fatal to confirmation by the plutocratic majority in the Senate will be the expression of any judicial views not in accordance with the "safe, sane and sound" predominance of wealth.

As far back as 1820, Mr. Jefferson had discovered the "sapping and mining," as he termed it, of the life-tenure, appointive Federal Judiciary, owing no gratitude to the people for their appointment and fearing no inconvenience from their conduct, however arbitrary, in the discharge of such office. In short, they possess the autocratic power of absolute irresponsibility. "Step by step, one goes very far," says the French proverb. This is true of the Federal Judiciary. Compare their jurisdiction in 1801, when Marshall ascended the bench, and their jurisdiction in 1906. The Constitution

has been remade and rewritten by the judicial glosses put upon it. Had it been understood in 1787 to mean what it is construed to mean to-day, it is safe to say that not a single State would have ratified it.

An elective Judiciary is less partisan, for in many States half the Judges are habitually taken from each party, and very often in other States the same men are nominated by both parties, as notably the recent selection by a Republican convention of a Democratic successor to Judge Parker. The organs of plutocracy have asserted that in one State the elective Judges are selected by the party boss. But they forget that if that is true, he must in such a condition of affairs name the Governor too, and through the Governor he would select the appointive Judges. If the people are to be trusted to select the Executive and the Legislature, they are fit to select the Judges. The people are wiser than the appointing power which, viewing Judgeships as patronage, has with scarcely an exception filled the Federal bench with appointees of its own party. Public opinion, which is the corner-stone of free government, has no place in the selection or supervision of the judicial augurs who assume power to set aside the will of the people when declared by Congress and the Executive. Whatever their method of divination, equally with the augurs of old they are a law unto themselves and control events.

As was said by a great lawyer lately deceased, Judge Seymour D. Thompson, in 1891 (25 *Am. Law Review*, 288): "If the proposition to make the Federal Judiciary elective instead of appointive is once seriously discussed before the people, *nothing can stay the growth of that sentiment*, and it is almost certain that every session of the Federal Supreme Court will furnish material to stimulate that growth."

Great aggregations of wealth know their own interests, and it is very certain that there is no reform and no constitutional amendment that they will oppose

more bitterly than this. What, then, is the interest of all others in regard to it?

VIII.

Another undemocratic feature of the Constitution is that which requires all Federal officers to be appointed by the President or heads of departments. This is a great evil. Overwhelming necessity has compelled the enactment of the civil-service law, which has protected many thousands of minor officials. But there has been no relief as to the 75,000 postmasters. When the Constitution was adopted there were only 75 postmasters, and it was contemplated that the President or Postmaster-General would really appoint. But this constitutional provision is a dead letter. The selection of this army of 75,000 postmasters, in a large majority of cases, is made by neither, but in the unconstitutional mode of selection by Senator, Member of the House, or a political boss. There is no reason why Congress should not be empowered by amendment to authorize the Department to lay off the territory patronizing each post-office as a district in which an election shall be held once in four years, at the time a member of Congress is chosen, and by the same machinery, the officer giving bond and being subject to the same supervision as now. Thus the people of each locality will get the postmaster they prefer, irrespective of the general result in the Union, relieving the Department at Washington of much call upon its time, which can be used for the public interest in some better way; and, besides, it will remove from the election of President and Members of Congress considerations of public patronage. Elections will then more largely turn upon the great issues as to matters of public policy.

Another obstruction to the effective

operation of the popular will is the fact that, though Congressmen are elected in November, they do not take their seats (unless there is a called session) for thirteen months, and in the meantime the old Congress, whose policy may have been repudiated at the polls, sits and legislates in any event until March 4th following. This surely needs amendment, which fortunately can be done by statute. In England, France and other countries the old Parliament ceases before the election, and the new Assembly meets at once and puts the popular will into law.

In thus discussing the defects of the Federal Constitution I have but exercised the right of the humblest citizen. Few will deny that defects exist. I have indicated what, in my opinion, are the remedies. As to this, many will differ. If better can be found, let us adopt them.

For my part, I believe in popular government. The remedy for the halting, half-way popular government which we have is more democracy. When some one observed to Mr. Gladstone that the "people are not always right," he replied, "No; but they are rarely wrong." When they are wrong, their intelligence and their interests combine to make them correct the wrong. But when rulers, whether Kings, or life Judges, or great corporations, commit an error against the interest of the masses, there is no such certainty of correction.

The growth of this country in population and in material wealth has made it the marvel of the ages.

"But what avail the plow or sail,
Or land or life, if freedom fail?"

The government and the destinies of a great people should always be kept in their own hands.

WALTER CLARK.

Raleigh, N. C.

SPOILS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

PART I. A RETROSPECT.

PERHAPS the most sinister figure on the horizon of our brief history, and whose name will some day be synonymous with the national Iscariot, is not Benedict Arnold, but Aaron Burr. That he was guilty of treason, of betrayal of sacred social trusts, that he was the assassin of our greatest statesman, that he was the apostle of evil and infamy, we remember oftener than that we trace to his brilliant and unscrupulous mind a heritage of violence, dishonor, and political debauchery which has all but destroyed democratic institutions in the Republic; for it was he, more than any other, who was the originator of the "spoils-system," with the "boss" and the "machine," and the destructive growth which flourished three-quarters of a century in this country with scarcely a check, and for half that time practically without protest.

From Burr's avowed political creed that "*politics is a game, the prizes of which are offices and contracts*," to Senator Marcy's infamous political dictum, that "to the victors belong the spoils of the enemy," there is but one step; and only another step to Martin Van Buren getting the office of surrogate of Columbia county, New York—a judgeship, as a price for the support of Tompkins for governor. In New York, before Tammany and before Andrew Jackson, was the beginning of the spoils-system in the United States.

Because of the influence of Burr, and kindred minds of smaller caliber, of Senator Marcy, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren and their successors and imitators, the United States Government, with the election of Jackson, plunged into a long period of its history with

hundreds of thousands of parasitical vagabonds fastened in the country's vitals; professional office-seekers and contract-mongers, preying on the country, debauching elections, prostituting public office, robbing the public treasury, destroying the instinct of independent self-support, resorting to violence and bribery to carry elections, to be swapped over the bargain-counter for public trusts that did not belong to their stewards. In short, here was developed a malign institution which is still the curse of our country, synonymous with an infamy all its own—the American "professional politician." Great is the pity that the words "politics" and "politician" should ever have fallen into such company, for after all, whatever else the "ward-heeler" may be—on the scale of municipal, state or national affairs—he is in no sense a politician, nor is "politics a game, the prizes of which are offices and contracts."

Of course, it may be said that by the common law of England public office was once a species of real property held by a tenure like land, and vesting in the incumbent an estate either in land or in fee. Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, offices are enumerated by Blackstone in his classification of real property as one of the class of incorporeal hereditaments. But to offer a public office in exchange for help in getting another office is only one short step from offering money for help to get one into office, or in other words, from buying votes; the ethical differences lying all in favor of a plain money-bribe. In the latter case, the money presumably belonged to the candidate. He was not giving for his personal benefit something which did not belong to him. Again, when the money was taken and "tainted," it began to lose power to destroy. But

a public trust, traded off like an old horse, would command little respect of him who swapped something for it, and for all the term of that office, was there opportunity to debauch what he had dishonestly gained.

The root of the whole matter is, that while we in America have no theory of the state, no political ethics, we are overwhelmingly absorbed in the dollar omnipotent, which is after all the foundation of our politics. In other words, our politics is economics. If we believe here and there in political morality, our ideas of it are confined to questions of the suppression of graft, the purification of elections, the elimination of spoils, and kindred phases of a much deeper question; and this is about as far as we have gone. These should be taken for granted as the *sine qua non* of a civilized political society. Is it not time to go further? There is a world-wide difference between political morality and political ethics. The crying need in America is an intelligent statement of the moral mission of the state and the ethical foundations of government from the standpoint of modern democracy. Here, on the contrary, we have scarcely an idea beyond material well-being or commercial interests. The philosophy of the state is what Carlyle would call "the philosophy of the shop-till." Is it any wonder that politics should smack of the bargain-counter?

In England the word politics means statecraft. The politician is a statesman, or is not ashamed to be if he is able to be. The political ideals of the English youth are molded in the "larger utterances of the earlier gods."

Back of us, four hundred years before the revelation in Galilee, stand two pillars of thought, still towering over every other structure on the upward slope of time. These are monuments of the Greek idea of the state. When we look back at them, we ask if it is not time for us to ask some of the old questions over again. "Man," says Aristotle, "is a political animal." "The state exists for the sake

of life—good life." What is a constitution? It is the highway of a nation's progress. What is the state? It is man's national expression of his corporate self. What is law? It is the corporate conscience and the reason of a community finding for itself a voice. In this lucid Greek moment, a new light has fallen upon the direction of the evolution of a superior human society. Here the ethical and rational sanctions of law appear at one, and while it has been ignored by Rome, and mostly forgotten by the modern world, Plato and Aristotle have not been superseded by Machiavelli, or Burr; by our Tweeds, Quays, our Durhams or our Guiteaus.

One of the most widely-quoted writers on American institutions is an Englishman, who has just offered us some more advice; this time against increasing our navy, just at the moment of the announcement of the Anglo-Japanese treaty emphasizing the helplessness of our Pacific frontier, without one. Some words of *The American Commonwealth* (II., 535-6) involve an unnoticed but as fundamental a criticism as was ever written on our American institutions. He says:

"The Americans have 'no theory of the state.' They base their constitutional ideas upon law and history. . . . In America, even the dignity of the state has vanished. It seems actually less than the individuals who live under it. . . . The State is nothing but a name for the legislative and administrative machinery, whereby certain business of the inhabitants is dispatched. It has no more conscience or moral mission or title to awe and respect than a commercial company for working a railroad or a mine."

The corruption of our country has been for many years attributed, especially by foreign writers, to the working-out of democratic principles in politics.

Even De Tocqueville, in an address before the Chamber of Deputies on June 27, 1848, just four weeks before the Revo-

lution of 1848, told his fellow-Frenchmen what his country was coming to by means of this very commercialism; that then they could not look a day, or month, or a year ahead. In just a month the crash came. He said that in the classes which possessed and exercised political rights "political morality is declining. . . . More and more, opinions and sentiments and ideas of a public character are supplemented by personal interests, personal aims, points-of-view borrowed from private interests and private life."

It is because Americans interpret politics from the standpoint of personal aggrandizement disguised under the fiction of "enlightened self-interest," not because they are the possessors of civil liberty, that for three-quarters of a century our politics has been corrupt. It is because we have made commercial make-shifts of our political ideals that "the dignity of the state has vanished."

The pathos of it all appears when we remember our antecedents; that the nation which began its existence, as has been said, with perhaps the best outfit of ethical and intellectual character with which any nation ever "set up business"—to interpolate an Americanism—and which began its life, as it were, with the compact on the "Mayflower," "*In the name of God, Amen!*" came to be such that the *London Times* said in 1876, "Editorially, we can not congratulate ourselves that so corrupt a government as that of the United States exists upon the earth." The recent revelations of modern municipal and corporate business life have brought the world to feel that one scarcely knows any more where to do business in this country and be treated honestly; that one can hardly find a man in business who will do as he says; that one can scarcely know where to invest and invest safely; that it is a prevailing national commercial standard that every one shall acquire everything in reach, consistent with keeping out of jail. While recent investigations and revelations show an idiocy as precipitous on

the part of the "lambs" as insanity of greed as ferocious on the part of the "hyenas" of the "street," this is held by the modern financier to be sufficient justification of theft under whatever guise—that it be transacted consistently with his personal safety.

Every intelligent reader and observer in the world is aware of one present tendency of American life and society; that our politics,—especially municipal,—our vast and unexampled business organism, and "society"—which answers to that name—is a composite stench in the nostrils of decent Christendom. Matthew Arnold's criticism that America was filled with an unredeemed and irredeemable middle-class, was, after all, a criticism as was Mr. Bryce's of the ubiquitous Pan-commercialism of Pan-Americanism.

There are few of our people who have any higher conception of politics than that they are commercial interests. Slaves were freed in the North, not on any moral ground, but because of conditions of economy. And it has been said that they would have been freed in the South on the same grounds when the South became a manufacturing district. One has to listen to our campaign speeches and our debates in Congress to find that we are almost wholly absorbed in matters of dollars and cents. One can not go to a college ball-game, attend an election, see a horse-race, or a contest or sport of any kind; one can not attend a dinner-party in some circles, or a social evening without poker or bridge at high stakes; in other words, not only the stamp of commercialism is set upon these things, but that of dishonor. A gambling society is a commercialized society with an element of immorality added to the sordid. One can not multiply illustrations of the obvious, the illustrations should be of the exception.

It is not possible that the Yankee could have kept his ideals out of his politics when he has made a commercial proposition with practically everything else he

has and is. I have seen no better illustration of the hopelessness of the American spirit than in some recent words of a man who enjoys the distinction of being the possessor of more "tainted money" than any other man in the world, and who is also a veteran Sunday-school man, who has written for a financial consideration, which has gone to his son's Bible-class, an article for a London newspaper, as reported in our papers, practically to the effect that he got his first job because he was an active Sunday-school, Church and Y. M. C. A. man; suggesting to the impecunious and am-

bitious youth of to-day the exalted ethics of Benjamin Franklin that religion is the "best policy." Scarcely any more characteristic or more awful revelation of this man's character has been made in recent years than this naïve and brutal self-revelation of this Sunday-school man, who is stated to have practically advised young men to make religion a policy and the church a shop and the world a policy-shop. One need look no further for a sign of the times.

(To be continued.)

FRANK VROOMAN.

Washington, D. C.

RAMBLES IN BOSTON WITH THE POET OF THE SIERRAS.

AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

I. THE BOY IS FATHER TO THE MAN.

JOAQUIN MILLER is one of the most genial and interesting of companions as well as one of the most striking and picturesque characters among literary men of distinction in the New World at the present time. He in a greater degree than any other living American author is a connecting link between the pioneer age of daring dreams and marvelous achievements and the present ultra-utilitarian days in which the materialism of the market and the insane passion for gold are battling against the poet's high vision of truth, the apostle's message of social righteousness and the prophet's plea for that moral idealism that lifts a nation upward on the wings of justice as it is borne forward by the impulsion of freedom.

Mr. Miller was born and reared in an age and environment in which the heroic and the commonplace jostled one another at every turn; an age of boundless faith and superb courage; an age in which

the dreams of one day became the achieved facts of the next; an age made glorious by a background of heroic deeds and attainments that dwarfed the hero-tales of infant Greece and Rome into insignificance by comparison. It was with sparkling eye and swelling breast that the child with a poet's imagination and who was christened Cincinnatus Heine, heard at his father's knee of how the poor struggling little Colonies that fringed the Atlantic had braved the mighty power of Britain and beaten back the would-be enslaver of freedom's children. Even in that childhood hour, Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill and the Old South Church became consecrated spots to the boy; for the places where man dares and dies for liberty are ever holy ground, and the story of how our giant-souled statesmen and soldiers blazed the way for the triumphant advent of democracy held special interest to the poet lad, because his own grandfather, Captain Robert Miller, had died fighting for the freedom of the Colonies.

Then came the story of England's second attempt to crush the children of the New World and destroy the maritime power of the infant Republic—a struggle marked by such ignominious defeat for the mistress of the seas as she had seldom experienced.

These modern wonder-stories that so powerfully stirred the boy were matched by the tales of daring connected with the subjugation of the West. The life of Boone and the stories of other pioneers, which called for no additions of legend or myth to make them rival the herotales of other lands, all conspired to make life an intoxicating dream while nerving the hand and firing the brain to do and dare great things. And it was while such influences played upon the sensitive imagination of the boy that the preacher-teacher-father set his face toward the Pacific. In a prairie-schooner the little family set out from their home in the Middle West for far-away Oregon. They arrived at a time when the Indians were in a restless and an ugly mood. Scarcely, indeed, had the rafters been placed on the little log cabin in the new home far beyond the Great Divide, before the Modocs began indulging in scalping-bees in the vicinity of the Miller home. From that date for over the lapse of a generation young Miller, who was a born poet and actor no less than a frontiersman and an adventurous traveler, lived one of the most stirring lives that has marked the restless pioneers and daring souls of those who subdued the virgin land, found and unlocked the treasure-house of the Sierras and battled for freedom while dreaming dreams of progress.

It was in the golden days of '49 that young Miller donned the broad-brimmed hat and high boots and adopted the famous flannel shirt, usually of a flaming red, as a part of his regular wardrobe, for dress as well as other occasions, as befitting a democratic citizen who believed in living near to nature's heart; and with slight variations and occasional concessions to convention, he has maintained

this garb through all the changes of his restless and active life. For Joaquin Miller is preëminently a live man. When he is not engaged in adventurous acts, fighting for what he believes to be right, braving the terrors of the arctic passes, studying the civilization of Japan, or wandering through storied Palestine, dreaming of the olden days when the Prophet of Nazareth rested 'neath the shades of Olivet or trod the way to Calvary, he is weaving his own vivid dreams into poetry or prose poems, for from childhood his thoughts have ever taken the rhythmic form.

During the past twenty years he has spent much time at his home on The Hights, back of Oakland, California, living with his mother whom he idolized and whose last years he made very happy and full of that peace and contentment that should always mark serene age as it goes toward the morning land. During this period he penned the work which I hold to be not only his master prose creation, but the most exquisitely beautiful and profoundly suggestive social vision that has been written by Anglo-Saxon bard or prophet, *The Building of the City Beautiful*. This work, quite apart from its message of social justice, which alone would entitle it to high rank in the literature of ethical progress, has so many points of excellence that it cannot fail to hold a permanent place in the vital literature of the New World. It is a prose poem of a high order, jeweled with gems of verse. It is one of the most deeply religious books of modern times, yet it is marked by a breadth of thought and tolerance of spirit that invest it with a compelling charm. It is rich in philosophic truths relating to the deeper aspects of life; and here, too, is a message from the mystic to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear the lesson which the two stories of the lions teach the children of men; while the story as an allegorical romance of life's failures and success, glorified and ennobled by love and service, is one of the most fascinating ideal-

istic tales which has come from the brain of an American poet-dreamer or prophet-teacher. It is significant that this matchless social romance and vision and Mr. Miller's new poem, which is now in the hands of the printer and which the author regards as his capital poem, have been produced since the writer passed the half-century mile-post.

II. OCTOBER DAYS IN BOSTON.

On one of those beautiful days that make October, next to June, the most delightful month of the year in Boston, suddenly and without warning, as at intervals there come to us many of the good things of life, the Poet of the Sierras entered my office with his genial and engaging smile and open-hearted, cordial and unaffected greeting.

"I am disappointed in finding that I am too late to enjoy the beauty of the New England autumnal foliage," he said; "but that was only one of many objects I had in view in coming here. I wish to meet my few remaining friends and spend some time at Mount Auburn, where rest so many of those who made my visit a quarter of a century ago one of the bright spots in memory. Then Boston and the country round about are rich in shrines and I want to visit them before I leave."

One morning I suggested that we call upon a publisher whom he wished to meet, and we set out for Washington street.

"Shall we take a car?" I asked.

"Not unless the walk is too much for you," came the prompt reply.

So we threaded our way along a thoroughfare torn up as is the wont in our cities where the street-car, the gas, electric and water companies all have property rights on or under the highways.

"Now this," remarked the poet with a twinkle in his deep gray eye, "reminds me of a time when I was riding with Colonel Ingersoll in Washington. We came to a street torn up as is this thoroughfare, and Colonel Ingersoll said:

"'I wonder if I shall ever get to a city that is made.'

"I glanced up toward the sky and replied:

"'I am afraid not, Colonel.'

"In an instant Ingersoll was convulsed with mirth, and you know how whole-souled was his laughter.

"Ah! Is not this the Old South Meeting-House?" queried the poet with a sudden change of voice, indicating the passing of the reminiscent mood and the presence of a very lively interest in the object before us.

"Yes, that is the spot from which the famous Mohawks marched to the wharf," I replied, and the poet, who has a habit of keeping his hat on indoors as well as out, raised it as we passed the building.

"It is a shrine," he said, and I noticed that it was his universal rule to lift his hat as he passed those things which symbolized great victories for humanity or spots consecrated as the scenes of heroic struggles for freedom, justice and human advance.

In the course of our journeyings we visited the famous old Copp's Hill burying-ground in the North End of Boston. This section, once the most aristocratic and exclusive part of the city, is now given over chiefly to Italian, Jewish and Portuguese immigrants, and their multitudinous progeny are everywhere in evidence in the streets. As we neared the burying-ground a number of little boys and girls began to follow us. Some of them shouted out, "Why, it's Santa Claus!" and others piped up, "Hello, Santa Claus! Where did you come from?"

Mr. Miller turned on them a wonderfully benignant gaze and taking a penny from his pocket offered it to a little girl near him, but she timidly drew back. Then he tossed several pennies to the children and we turned again on our way. Soon we were surrounded by a host of street gamins, but happily we were near the gate of the cemetery and so were soon free from the importunities of the rapidly-growing army of bright-eyed and dirty-faced little ones.

On entering the cemetery the attention

of the poet was quickly centered on the objects of special interest. We paused before the tomb of the Mathers and called to mind how those great New England divines—especially how Cotton, the most illustrious of the three—had exerted almost autocratic power over the imagination and the lives of the people. Indeed, these great preachers were the real autocrats of the austere olden days.

In this old cemetery the British encamped before the battle of Bunker Hill. Indeed, it overlooks the site of the historic field, and here are standing to-day tombs of certain fearless friends of freedom who had long ere they died opposed the steady encroachments and aggressions of the English throne. They had, however, died before the struggle opened and their tombs were singled out by the British soldiers as objects for target practice. The scars, dents, cracks and defacements made by the bullets are still in evidence. Mr. Miller was deeply interested in the story of one of the leaders of those pioneers of freedom whose tomb bears eloquent testimony to the vicious spirit of the soldiery of King George.

Next we were shown the vault set aside for the damned infants, for it must be remembered that our pious forefathers held that all babies who died without being baptized were lost, and being lost they insisted they must not be buried with the saved. Hence a vault was set apart to receive their bodies. The superintendent while showing us this object of melancholy interest drew from his pocket an extract from Rev. Michael Wigglesworth's famous poem, "The Day of Doom," which at one time, it will be remembered, was next to the Bible the most popular book in Massachusetts Colony. The ministers regarded it as one of the most edifying books ever written and it is stated that one person in every six possessed a copy. The stanzas to which our guide called our attention were those in which the condemned infants are represented as pleading with Jesus on the last great day for a trial, as

they never had had an opportunity or a chance on earth, and those giving the reply of Christ as the old Presbyterian divine conceived it would be:

"Then to the bar all they drew near who dy'd in infancy,
And never had or good or bad effected pers'nally.
But from the womb unto the tomb were straight-way carried,
Or at the last e'er they transgressed who thus began to plead:
If for our own transgression, or disobedience,
We here did stand at thy left hand, just were the recompense;
But Adam's guilt our souls hath spilt, his fault is charg'd on us:
And that alone hath overthrown, and utterly undone us.
Not we, but he ate of the tree, whose fruit was interdicted:
Yet on us all of his sad fall, the punishment 's inflicted.
How could we sin that had not been, or how is his sin our
Without consent, which to prevent, we never had a pow'r?
O great Creator, why was our nature deprav'd and forlorn?
Why so defil'd, and made so vil'd whilst we were yet unborn?
Behold we see Adam set free, and sav'd from his trespass,
Whose sinful fall has spilt us all, and brought us to this pass.
Canst thou deny us once to try, or grace to us to tender,
When he finds grace before thy face, that was the chief offender?

What you call old Adam's fall, and only his trespass,
You call amiss to call it his, both his and yours it was.
He was design'd of all mankind, to be a publick head,
A common root, whence all should shoot, and stood in all their stead.
He stood and fell, did ill or well, not for himself alone,
But for you all, who now his fall, and trespass would disown.
If he had stood, then all his brood, had been established
In God's true love never to move, nor once awry to tread:
Would you have griev'd to have receiv'd through Adam so much good,
As had been your forevermore, if he at first had stood?
Since then to share in his welfare, you could have been content,
You may with reason share in his treason, and in the punishment.
You sinners are, and such a share as sinners may expect,
Such you shall have; for I do save none but my own elect.

Yet to compare your sin with their who liv'd a longer time,
 I do confess yours is much less, though every sin's a crime.
 A crime it is, therefore in bliss you may not hope to dwell;
 But unto you I shall allow *the easiest room in hell.*
 The glorious king thus answering, they cease, and plead no longer:
 Their consciences must needs confess his reasons are the stronger."

"All this seems almost incredible," said the poet, and then he added, "and yet some people sigh for the good old days and think the world is not advancing into the light."

Mr. Miller, poet and dreamer though he be, possesses much of the utilitarian spirit of our age, and his first thoughts are ever for the benefit of the living and especially for the joy and delight of childhood. He constantly objected to the old graveyards that he found scattered throughout the populous parts of Boston.

"They should all be turned into parks and playgrounds for the children," he would say. "True, they have historic interest and value, but not so great in worth to the present and the future as would be playgrounds and parks in these congested parts of the city; and the dust of the sleepers could all be reverently moved to a reception hall—a hall of fame, if you will. There let Adams and Hancock rest with the Mathers in ornamental urns below which could be descriptive tablets giving full and needed information,—far more knowledge than can be obtained from the meager messages on the stones in the graveyards that are fenced in and whose gates are locked. I believe in looking out for the coming generation. I would give the children all the freedom possible to grow in body and mind, and I would make these useless cemeteries beauty spots or, better still, playgrounds and sand-gardens for the enjoyment and the benefit of the little tots and the children of larger growth."

From Copp's Hill we passed to Salem street, where within a stone's throw from the cemetery stands the old North Church claimed by many to be the edifice from

whose belfry the signal-lights were hung on the night of Paul Revere's historic ride; although it should be remembered that many people hold that these signal-lanterns were displayed from the tower of the old North Meeting-House and not from the belfry of Christ Church, now known as the old North Church.

"I should like to go by the Revere House, if it is not too far," said my companion. "For when I was here about a quarter of a century ago I stopped there on arriving in the city. Then I became the guest of the poet Longfellow and with him went to call on Walt. Whitman, who resided on Bullfinch Place if I remember right."

We passed the old hotel and also the spot where Whitman lived when Longfellow and Miller visited him.

"And now let us go to the Capitol and from there across the Common to your office," said the poet, who after some miles of walking seemed as fresh as a country youth.

Mr. Miller very justly criticized the mania for military monuments seen in Boston.

"Look at that statue of Hooker," he said, "a carping officer at best and a general that by no stretch of the imagination could be called a military genius. Here he is given the place of honor under the very shade of the historic dome, and this in the intellectual capital of America—the city of Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Everett, and Channing. Why should these great men and numbers of others that might be named be passed over for these inferior men of blood? It is all wrong and unworthy of Boston."

I could not gainsay the poet. He was right. The moral and mental aristocracy, the real civilization-builders, deserve far more recognition than they have received. Still, Boston has not wholly forgotten many of her illustrious sons. In the beautiful Gardens and on Commonwealth avenue are to be seen statues of men of conscience and intellect,—such men as Channing, Everett, Sumner and Garrison.

One morning the poet on entering my office said, "I spent most of yesterday at Mount Auburn, visiting the graves of my friends of other days, and one thing that especially attracted my attention was a solitary fall dandelion blooming on the grave of Lowell. I suppose it was an accident, but it reminded me at once of Lowell's fine lines to that beautiful little flower:

"Dear common flower that grow'st beside the way,
Fringing the dusty road with harmless gold,
First pledge of blithesome May,
Which children pluck, and, full of pride uphold,
High-hearted buccaneers, o'erjoyed that they
An Eldorado in the grass have found,
Which not the rich earth's ample round
May match in wealth, thou art more dear to me
Than all the prouder summer-blooms may be.

Gold such as thine ne'er drew the Spanish prow
Through the primeval hush of Indirn seas,
Nor wrinkled the lean brow
Of age, to rob the lover's heart of ease;
'T is the Spring's largess, which she scatters now
To rich and poor alike, with lavish hand,
Though most hearts never understand
To take it at God's value, but pass by
The offered wealth with unrewarded eye.

Thou art my tropics and mine Italy;
To look at thee unlocks a warmer clime;
The eyes thou givest me
Are in the heart, and heed not space or time;
Not in mid-June the golden-cuirassed bee
Feels a more summer-like warm ravishment
In the white lily's breezy tent,
His fragrant Sybaris, than I, when first
From the dark green thy yellow circles burst.

Then think I of deep shadows on the grass,
Of meadows where in sun the cattle graze,
Where, as the breezes pass,
The gleaming rushes lean a thousand ways,
Of leaves that slumber in a cloudy mass,
Or whiten in the wind, of waters blue
That from the distance sparkle through
Some woodland gap, and of a sky above,
Where one white cloud like a stray lamb doth
move.

My childhood's earliest thoughts are linked with thee;
The sight of thee calls back the robin's song,
Who, from the dark old tree
Beside the door, sang clearly all day long,
And I, secure in childish piety,
Listened as if I heard an angel sing
With news from heaven, which he could bring
Fresh every day to my untainted ears
When birds and flowers and I were happy peers.

How like a prodigal doth nature seem,
When thou, for all thy gold, so common art!

Thou teachest me to deem
More sacredly of every human heart,
Since each reflects in joy its scanty gleam
Of heaven, and could some wondrous secret show,
Did we but pay the love we owe,
And with a child's undoubting wisdom look
On all these living pages of God's book."

"Would you like to step over to the studio of Mr. J. J. Enneking, who as you know is one of America's greatest impressionistic landscape artists?" I asked. "I think you will find him one of the most original and thoughtful men you have ever met, and from my point-of-view no man in New England has done greater work in picturing landscapes than he. You may not care for his work, but his canvases appeal to me with irresistible power."

"Certainly, I want to go. I have met the artist before and I shall enjoy seeing his work."

We spent a delightful hour and a half in the studio. Mr. Miller instantly came under the spell of the wonderful pictures. In displaying one canvas Mr. Enneking said, "Here is a picture you may not care for at all, but I like it, as I think it gives the impression and feeling of a spring morning, with nature awakening and instinct with new life."

"Peaches and cream!" was the poet's brief but comprehensive comment, after he had riveted his eyes on the canvas for several minutes; and when we left he said: "I thank you for taking me to see Mr. Enneking's paintings. I have not enjoyed anything in Boston so much as seeing those great canvases and talking with that fine thinker."

He went with Mr. Maynard to Concord to call on Mr. Frank Sanborn and to visit many spots very dear to him. This trip he greatly enjoyed. And so the October days wore away, each one finding the poet in a cheerful mood. One balmy morning he remarked, "Ah! this is like the glorious air of California. I have been taking a long walk and enjoying myself greatly." Another morning when a fine Scotch mist was falling and the air was raw and anything but pleas-

ant to me, Mr. Miller remarked, "This weather reminds me of London, and I like it."

It is a great thing to retain the cheerful spirit as one passes down the western slope of life, and in this respect the poet

of the Sierras is peculiarly blessed. On several occasions when talking with him I was strongly reminded of Victor Hugo's utterance a few years before his death: "The snow of age is on my brow, but spring is in my heart."

A CONVERSATION WITH JOAQUIN MILLER

IN WHICH THE POET DISCUSSES MR. WELLS' CRITICISM AND COMPARES
THE MODERN ATHENS WITH AMERICA'S GREAT
COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS.

A SHORT time before Joaquin Miller's recent visit to Boston, Mr. H. G. Wells, hailing from fog-enveloped London, had written his obituary on the living corpse, Boston. He had found the city quite dead. The galaxy of great men—Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Sumner, Whittier, Channing, Everett, Howe and Hawthorne—were all gone. The great of half a century ago had disappeared, leaving no successors. This wail of the pessimistic prophet is as old as Homer and the chroniclers of Israel. "There were giants in those days,"—such is the burden of the pessimist's wail.

In the case of Mr. Wells, there is enough truth to make the superficial criticism plausible, but to students of history there is nothing remarkable in the fact that cities, states, nations and civilizations have their golden days and seasons of blossoming and fruitage, and their resting periods. And Mr. Edwin D. Mead, the scholarly essayist and fine thinker, in an admirable reply to Mr. Wells, pointed out that all that the English critic said about the disparity in intellectual eminence between the Boston of to-day and the Boston of half a century ago, could be applied with even greater force to Mr. Wells' own city, London. From the thirties to the sixties of the last century Boston blossomed in moral and intellectual splendor, and the same was true of London. Then in the latter city,

among great statesmen were Sir Robert Peel, Gladstone, Disraeli, Cobden and Bright; among great authors, poets, reformers and novelists, were Carlyle, Browning, the Italian patriot Mazzini, Thackeray, Dickens and Bulwer-Lytton; while the discoveries of Darwin and Wallace, the speculations of Spencer and the deductions of Huxley made London a storm-center of intellectual activity and philosophical discussion. To-day in statescraft, in poetry, in fiction, in science and in philosophy, London is suffering from a dearth of minds of the first order. True, the venerable Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace is still on the stage of life; but where are the young successors who promise to take the place of the master-minds that placed England in the van of scientific progress? They may be even now entering the stage, but what is true of Boston is also true of London. These great centers are at present experiencing those breathing spells that come to all cities after periods of great moral exaltation and intellectual activity.

But if Boston cannot to-day boast of any literary galaxy such as made the nineteenth century a golden day in her history, it is equally true that never before in her annals was she more truly an intellectual center, a capital for the diffusion of knowledge. Her splendid universities, colleges and technical institutions were never so efficient as to-day,

while they are complemented by the most magnificent public library, if we except the Congressional Library at Washington, to be found in America, and by art museums, natural history museums, schools for art, music and splendid courses of popular lectures which in themselves cannot fail to broaden and deepen the culture of all who enjoy them. Then there are the world-famed Symphony Concerts and scores of other aids to the acquisition of knowledge in almost every department of research. Boston, instead of being a tomb, is a mighty intellectual hive and over the city broods to-day as ever the splendid searching spirit that is the handmaid of true progress. Here as of old is the thirst for knowledge, the deathless hunger for the truth. Here, too, is the old-time love of freedom and of the right of free speech and of individual growth and expression, blended with a strong social spirit that is striving to meet and master the twin forces of peril in modern municipal life,—the greed of the privileged few who place corporate gain above civic morality and communal interests, and the great mass of foreign immigrants who are ignorant of the moral ideals of democracy and who join with the sordid, venal or indifferent voters in blocking true civic progress in municipal life.

So, as a matter of fact, Mr. Wells saw only the surface, took no pains to acquaint himself with the facts that a conscientious critic would have insisted on knowing before venturing an opinion, and thus being ignorant of a large number of vital facts wrote a very foolish and superficial criticism, wholly beneath a man of his standing and literary pretensions.

I was discussing this subject with Mr. Miller on one occasion, and he replied in so interesting a manner that I had his words taken down for our readers:

"Mr. Wells is very unreasonable, if not absurd," said the poet. "You might just as well ask that it should strike twelve o'clock every hour in the day. There is only one twelve o'clock in a day.

The sun reaches the meridian only once in a day, but it comes again. Everything in this world comes in succession. It is the same with cities and with nations. With the fruits I have cultivated, I must permit the leaves to fall and the flowers too, but if I cultivate them carefully I have them again as the years succeed. I should say the same of Boston. She may with perfect confidence go right along. In the meantime the world comes this way to see the great dead and share the unequalled advantages offered to students and all in search of useful information. Boston is a very original city. We do not want two Shakespeares; we do not want two Emersons; but we are thankful for them, however. And when the tide comes in again there will come new people, and strong, strange people. Let us wait for them and not be impatient. It is absurd for Mr. Wells to expect these people to be continually on the stage."

"It has often seemed to me that cities, colonies and states take color or bent from the dominant ideals or notes in the lives of their founders. Do you think there is anything in this?"

"Yes, certainly. Boston and New York afford very striking illustrations. The men who made New England great, who settled Plymouth, Salem and Boston, landed with a Bible and hymn-book in their hands. They began by building churches and schoolhouses. The founders of New York landed with peddlers' packs on their backs. They were nothing if not traders, and they forthwith began building wharves and storehouses. And so these resultant expressions of different types of human activity have gone on their ways, ever since, to this day, as wide apart as London and Paris. New York looks very great on the map, and in fact is very great in a material way, and, I am told, feels lots bigger than Boston; but she is really and truly nothing of the sort. Mentally, morally and spiritually, Boston is vastly the bigger, better and heartier of the two and more

truly alive. Boston as a moral and intellectual capital is always at the head—always will be at the head. The great events began here, and you have kept them up, in one fashion or another, all the time. I should say that if the Vanderbilts, the Astors and the Stuyvesants had landed here in Boston, this city might have been deplorably commercial and perhaps greater than New York,

because these great Dutchmen were great traders and they built cities all over the world, with warehouses and counting-houses and banks. They were the Phœnicians of their age. They settled New York, the commercial metropolis; but the Pilgrims and the Puritans came here with the Bible, and Boston fortunately is just simply Boston, and I hope she will remain Boston."

PAYING CHILDREN TO ATTEND SCHOOL.

BY OSCAR CHRISMAN, Ph.D.,

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SOME years ago, as a Fellow in Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, when I first began that systematic study of child-nature which has become known under the scientific name of paidology, among my studies of child-life I got hold of two prize-essays of the American Economic Association by Miss Clare de Graffenreid and Mr. William F. Wilmoughby on child-labor. These papers so impressed me that since that time I have been very deeply interested in the problems of child-labor, and I have tried to keep in touch with this phase of child-life.

The efforts that have been made for helping the children in the Southern manufacturing establishments, the recent agitation over child-labor in New York, and the late Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, "Child-Labor in the United States," have freshened my interest in this matter.

There are a number of causes given for child-labor, but it is not necessary to repeat them here. These causes given are mostly external to the child, and I do not believe they go down deep enough to be real foundation causes, and till the basic causes are found and removed this matter can not be stopped. I think that the chief reasons for child-labor can be

found in the nature of the child himself, and that two of these are, first, the desire on the part of the child to make money, and, second, his love of and need for motion—of doing something with his body.

Mankind has always loved power. This power has taken different forms in different ages. At the present time in our own country the greatest power is attached to money. We would rather not own it, but the love of money is the ruling passion with us in America to-day. Religious power bends to it; political power bends to it. By this I do not mean to say that the love of money is an evil, and so do not speak of it as a wrong thing. I do not know that the power which comes from money is to give one opportunity to do harm, but rather this love of money is because of the great good that can be done with it. I have no patience with the idea that money is a necessary evil, and that he who possesses it thereby shows that he has done evil or he would not possess the money. I do not see why a man who works at a dollar a day may not in his way work just as many evil schemes to get that dollar without fairly earning it as the man who gets a thousand dollars a day. Nor can I see why a man who gets a thousand dollars

a day may not just as honestly earn it as he who gets a dollar a day. It altogether depends upon the man in each case. So when I speak of the wish to gain money as being the ruling passion with us to-day, I mean by this as being a righteous passion and not an evil one.

Thus in considering this question of child-labor, we must consider the inherited tendency of the child to want money. This is shown by the great number of children engaged in work who are not compelled to it by parents, who do not really need to work at all unless they so choose. The students of child-labor, it seems to me, have made a mistake in not studying more closely and deeply this class of child-workers. Every parent who reads this will recall how many times his children have tried various schemes for making money, and how often they have pleaded to be allowed to do certain things to try to make money.

Not only does the child inherit this love for money, but his every environment makes money-getting a vivid thing before him. The denials which his parents compel of him make him wish for money of his own. There is perhaps not a single person reading this but that said to himself when a child, upon being refused something by his parents, that when he got old enough to earn money he would get such things, and perhaps so informed his parents. Also children see the one possessing money honored in his community above every one else, and often rightly, too, for he most often represents the best there is in American life and spirit. In many other ways do the child's environments show him the need of money and keep well before him the power it possesses.

I believe that one of the very deepest reasons for child-labor is the love the child has for doing something and the very need of his nature to do something. All students of child-nature, and also everyone else for that matter, know that the child is a motor being. The greatest

element in child-life is motion. He loves movement and he is compelled to it. He loves to work rather than go to school, because of the motor action allowed him. There is an intense feeling to him in muscle action.

There is no such a thing as a lazy child among normal children. There may be an abnormality of laziness, just as there is of feeble-mindedness and of thievery, etc., but the ordinary, average child is not lazy. This is shown by children at play, and also by children at work, when there is a motive for this work. If the child does not work in school, it is because there is little or no motive, or there are conditions which cause a mental or a physical stupor or both. The impurity of the air of the ordinary school-room, the temperature, the bad light, etc., are in themselves sufficient to make the most industrious child become stupid, especially during the last hour of forenoon and more so of the afternoon. Added to this, those least able to do the mental work are detained in the worst conditions possible in the day—after school-hours. The very school-work itself tends toward stupefying the ability of children. The very nature of the child is activity. As was said before, the child is a motor being. Yet the school ignores this, or is ignorant of it, for physical activity is repressed in the school-room and mental activity is tried to be increased. The humdrum, inactive life of the school-room wearies, weariness grows into fatigue, fatigue into stupor, and then the child is called lazy and he must be kept after school, or otherwise be punished for this so-called laziness brought on by teacher and surroundings. The discipline of the school itself tends against the nature of the child and to depress his faculties. The best children in school are quiet children, but the best children in nature are the active children. Thus I would say that if the child is lazy in school, it is because of his environments—lack of motives for work and conditions to cause stupidity.

The average age at which children leave school is not far from thirteen years perhaps. That is, the child stays in school up to the time when he is able to show to his parents that he can do something outside better than at school, that the school is not doing him good, etc. There is no natural interest in the school-room for the child, especially the boy. He is a savage and filled with savage instincts. The school of the savage has never been in four walls, and particularly not in a little narrow desk; for it has been all outdoors and so the child craves such a school. The school of the savage has been for the most part a physical school, with but little mental application, and so the boy, a savage, wants his physical nature helped and trained. He cannot stand only mental strain, so he goes out from school into the physical, active world. Also, as was suggested before, the present needs, which can only be met by money, appeal to him more than preparation for the future. Hence he leaves school to go out and make money. The parents, not being higher in the scale than the children, acquiesce in this, for to them present money is of more worth than future gains.

The way to keep children in school is to make the school the most valuable place to them. The school must be made attractive. We must change front and recognize that the school-room is made for the child and not for the teacher. At present only the appurtenances of the teacher are placed in it, and whatever may be done for the children is done only because the teacher's interests can best be served by such. The school-room must be made for children. As the business-room is made attractive and fixed up for customers, and whatever is done for the sales-people is done only because thereby the best interests of customers can be cared for, so in the school-room the interests of the children must be consulted and those things done for children which will make the school-room, next to the home, the most attractive place.

In the first place there must be more freedom allowed to boys and to girls. In the next place more pleasure must be allowed them. Again the work must be changed from still life to active life. I have sometimes thought that if a painter wanted to make a study of still life, he ought to go into a well-ordered school-room and study the children, for the natural activity of child-life is crushed out there and still life prevails. The present routine of work of the ordinary school must be entirely revolutionized. The condition of the air, heat, light, etc., of the school-room must require as much time on the part of the teacher as at present is given up to suppressing the spirits of child-nature and in holding examinations. Work which allows the use of the body, freedom of motion and action, must take the place of the tiresome desk-work and dull mental applications of the present. But above and beyond all these must the work be carried out into the field and the wood, along by the river and the brook. The child must be taught through nature. Why cannot a beautiful hillside, shaded with spreading trees and carpeted with lovely flowers and soft grass, be as good a place to teach children as the dreary school-room and drearier desk? But more yet, the teacher instead of always bringing the children to him must go out to them and must teach them by following them in their plays and in their doings. It is very gratifying to students and lovers of children that much of the above is being recognized as necessary in school-work and in some ways is being looked after, so that we may well believe that the future school is going to be conducted along such lines.

Yet with all the above, however attractive the school may be made, we must understand that the child in his work knows only profit of the present. He knows no future. I fully believe that the child, all things being equal, who receives an education, is better prepared for life's struggles than he who leaves school to engage in any work or business,

I care not what it may be. But this is the judgment of an adult. It is not what the child sees. He sees only what he gains for the present. He is as the savage, he lives for the present. So with conditions out in the world calling the children, with the greed of parents and employers, with the love of money implanted within us, I believe another thing must be done, a very radical step must be taken, and that is to pay children in dollars and cents to attend school. Yet this is not such a great innovation, for in higher education it is being done. Scholarships and fellowships are being increased all the time, until it looks as if at least in the very highest education all who undertake such may get paid for it in dollars and cents.

If it is of great value to the state, to mankind, to pay students in the highest and most advanced lines to attend school, why is it not as profitable, and even more so, to pay children to attend school? Surely it is as important to the state to have the masses educated as it is to have some few individuals very highly educated.

It is true it would cost a great deal of money to pay every child who attends school, for I should say pay every child, no matter whether rich or poor, just as every child is paid now who works for it. Perhaps it should be that the children be paid by the amount and kind of work done just as in their work elsewhere and as in markings of grades in school. This, though, is a matter that need not be taken up in this paper.

The cry is going out that the public schools are a great burden, and yet no state or community wants to abolish them, for all know that they are cheaper and better than private schools of former times, and many more children attend them. Yet again the cry goes out that thousands of children are not availing themselves of these schools and are being attracted from them to workshops, store-rooms, etc. Expense must not stand in the way if in any manner these children

can be brought back and kept in the school, for with all its faults and defects the public-school is by far the best training place for the making of American citizens.

Every child in this land has a right to an education and everything must be done to give him the opportunity to get this education, and, by paying children to go to school, those who are compelled by poverty, by greed of parents, or by any cause, to have to go out to work, could thus have the opportunity to attend school, for they could thereby earn money just as now by work outside. Money is the main thing in life about the child and it must be used as a means to attract and keep the child in school.

If individuals alone can afford to pay children to work for them and find it profitable, so can the State, a collection of individuals, find it even more profitable to pay children in order to get them educated. For education gives intelligent voters and intelligent citizens and the State is great, the State is progressive, the State is good, only as its citizens are great and progressive and good. Paying children and thus getting them in school would educate the very class of voters that now are the most dangerous to the welfare of our nation.

The amount of money needed to pay children to go to school would be enormous, for there must be competition such as will make it almost impossible for individuals to obtain child-laborers, but every cent of it will come back in some other form, so that in the end the expense will not be greater than now.

The criminals for the most part come from the class that do not attend school. If by paying children, these can be attracted to school, crime would be so lessened as to greatly relieve the burdens of taxation needed in its suppression; for children would be trained away from crime and would not become criminals, because their surroundings would not tend that way. Since it is true that the use of intoxicating beverages is the great-

est cause of crime, and since scientific temperance teaching is being given in the schools everywhere, then if by paying children to attend schools those most likely to come under the influence of temptations can thus be induced to come to school and get this temperance training, thus will crime be greatly lessened and thereby taxes for caring for criminals be greatly lowered.

If children were paid to attend school much of the burden incurred now in caring for dependent children would be done away with, for it would make many who are now dependent upon the State or upon charity able to care for themselves. Paying children to go to school would also lessen very much the expense for enforcing the laws in reference to child-labor; indeed in time there would be no child-labor which might need looking after very much, for those who might employ children would be compelled to make things as comfortable and attractive as the school, if indeed they could at all attract the children.

Perhaps the greatest present gain would come to the state in the way of taking children out of competition with adults, thus giving more employment to men and better wages, and thus making better homes. In this way would the State be very greatly benefited, for upon the home the State depends more than upon any other one thing. It would add dignity to these homes, for with the children steadily bringing in funds from a most honorable source, and the parents being able to perform their part, charity would not be needed and thus true manhood would come into many homes which are kept down now because of poverty.

But the greatest good would come to the child himself. This appears in so many ways that only a few need to be given here. The reader can think of many more.

If greed of parents is one great cause of child-labor, then if the child can earn money by going to school, as much as by working outside, the parents will want him to go to school. The child will learn

in the school-room much that he can carry home with him to better the home, far, far more than he can obtain in any work he can engage in, and in this way make a better home for himself. Also the school authorities will have power to see that he has proper care, food, clothing, etc.

Writers upon child-labor impress upon us that some of the most deplorable things are that the child learns few if any good habits in his work, is rather unlikely to learn a trade or business, is unsteady in his habits, in fact the workshops are to him demoralizing mentally, morally and physically. By inducing them to attend school by paying them would bring these children under those influences which they most need and would give them habits of great help to them.

There is another side to consider in this matter of paying children to go to school. They ought to be paid to go to school because it is right to do so, for money is really due them for services rendered the State in the school-room. The State demands certain things of its citizens,—one is the bearing of arms when the nation is in danger. Although the preservation of the nation is of the utmost importance to every citizen, yet the State does not for a moment think of having its citizens become soldiers without paying them for such. So it is with children, the State demands that they go to school, because upon educated citizens depends the good of the State. So then a child ought to be paid for rendering such services, just as the citizen who renders his services as a soldier. It may be said that the child is paid by what he learns in school for his use in after life. So it may just as truly be said that the soldier is paid in the preservation of his country and his home. Why should a true patriot require dollars and cents for services in his country's defense any more than a child for services also for his country, for one is done just as much for self as the other? Again, when the child goes into a business establishment or a manufacturing place to work he receives

money for his services. Yet is he not getting an education for future life? Why should a private individual pay the child for his services and not this same individual in a public capacity as the State? The child is serving the State when he is learning business or a trade, and he is also gaining knowledge whereby he may gain a livelihood in later life, yet he is paid for his services in dollars and cents. The apprenticeship system has died out in this country, no doubt, just because of the feeling that one learning a trade should be paid for his services in dollars and cents beyond the mere trade itself. As I see it, the child is just as much entitled to receive money for his services to the State as the soldier, and the State is just as much under obligation to pay him for his public services in the school-room as the private party is to pay him for private services rendered. The apprentice in the school-room should have dollars and cents for his services beyond the mere knowledge gained.

Whatever else is the business of the State, it is to bring happiness to its people. Perhaps there is no other nation at present, nor has there been one in the past, where the people constituting it are as happy as in our country,—I mean all classes of people. I cannot help but feel that the darkest blot upon our pages to-day is that of child-labor. The most unhappy creatures among our people to-day are the poor, helpless children condemned to work as they are. When one reads of these poor children, one can

hardly believe that a great nation that spent millions of dollars to free a race of people who were really never as bad off in their slavery as are these children, God's children, America's children, at the very present time in many places, can refuse to spend any amount to free these children. What can dollars mean to us when these poor, little human souls are perishing! What are taxes to us who are grown to manhood, able-bodied and blessed with health, compared with the woes of those poor children who are taxed a thousand times worse? Of what better use is money if by paying them to go to school we can thus free them from the bondage they are now in?

But this paper is not altogether written in the interests of unhappy and miserable children involved in labor, but also for the helping of all children who go out to work, because money means more to them and to their parents than schooling. It is not claimed that paying children will get them all in school, nor keep them there, nor relieve all burdens about them. But it is claimed and believed in by the writer, that by paying children in dollars and cents to attend school will bring in and keep in a very large body of children not in school now, and that it will pay this nation to do it in the suppression of crime, in the making of more intelligent voters, in the building up of homes, and above all in making hundreds of children now miserable to be happy in the future.

OSCAR CHRISMAN.

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TWO HALVES OF THE WHOLE.

BY A. L. SYKES.

"So after she had slept for a brief space in Peace, she arose and asked the Brothers to show her their Cloister. And they, leading her to the summit of a hill, showed her the wide World, saying: 'This is our Cloister, O Lady Poverty.'"

"**W**HAT a silly girl the Princess is," soliloquized Milady. "Gone slumming again when she might be

viewing the yacht-race from the deck of the 'Sunbeam.'"

"'Slumming'?" queried the Critic, with his usual cultivated bitter smile ornamenting his classic features.

Milady looked at him severely through her lorgnette, then her face softened;

she dropped the glass, and I could see her thinking: "Well, perhaps you really don't know, and you are such an extremely nice Critic to look upon, that I find it impossible to be stern with you."

"Well, slumming is going about with a basket, you know, and—ah—talking with the poor, and finding out just what they think and feel and need, and—and—oh, you know,—seeing How the Other Half Lives."

"Humph!" ejaculated the Critic rudely; then he leaned his brow on his hand and meditated, while Milady waited.

At length he looked at her earnestly, and asked: "Do two halves make a whole?"

Milady made no reply, but it is certain that she did not understand the question, for she never fails to have the answer. The Day Laborer stopped with the study door-knob in his hand, and watched Milady sweep out of the room, and saw the Critic resume his bitter smile as he buried himself in his book. Then the Day Laborer went into his study, and thought and thought of how he could make "beautiful books and things" out of such a foolish question as "Do Two Halves Make a Whole?"

But do they? Are we who slum, and they that are slummed, really halves of one great body, in which each man is only a cell, but a vitally important cell? If the blood is poisoned at one point is the whole circulatory system less pure? If bad whiskey, and miserable dwellings, and poor food and pain make some nerves of that vast body quiver, can it be that the whole Body of Man suffers and groans not knowing the source of its discomfort?

If some seer could prove that this be true, would we stop now and then to throw a crumb to Lazarus at the gate, and go on our way rejoicing, or would we strive to make our Body clean from head to heel.

I fancy the latter.

Time was when men were far apart. That time is not now. Vast land-spaces, vaster sea-spaces have been annihilated,

and we have lost the old sense of time and space. A wise man has said that some World Spirit seems to be saying silently to men: "Stand close! Stand close!" and they do stand close in great charities and benefactions, and in vast combinations, and sometimes in ways apparently or really evil, body pressed against body, and hand against hand for the easier passing of money. We must hope that all in good time men will stand heart to heart with the word "Brother" on the lips, and the thought in the mind that the well-being of one child of the great household makes for the good of all.

Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong says: "Society is gaining self-consciousness which marks one of the most important steps in the progress of the race. We are beginning to see that society lives one vast life of which every man is a part. We are gaining what Walter Besant calls 'the sense of humanity.'"

How true this seems when we think of man, but how little true it seems when we try to apply it to individuals. Once there was a child who had the curious notion which was connected in no way with the thought of deafness, that the aged could not hear his remarks, and he would utter sentences in his clear treble that the grandfather or grandmother, sitting in the strange silence that comes to age would be hurt to hear. So we larger children do to the poor. We, in our ignorance, have imagined that the poor are not like ourselves, and we have dreamed that they do not feel—at least, do not feel as we feel,—and we ask them strange questions, and do to them strange deeds, that bite them as neither cold nor hunger does.

Dear Milady, there is no essential difference between you and the poor woman who is, alas! so rudely slummed. She wants to be beautiful. She longs for love as men under water long for air. She, however she is soiled, loves purity above all things. Her heart softens under the grave, deep glances of little children, and she trembles with joy or

pain when the scent of a flower or the feel of the spring in the air brings back lost days.

She is just like you. I have heard the little laugh she gives when her "man" comes home, and I know that he has kissed her, because, proud Milady, you have made my heart smile with that same little laugh a thousand times.

I have seen her bend over her little one, burned or crushed out of all semblance of childhood, and her body with its brooding, bending lines, and her face of anguish, were just your body and face over again, as they were revealed to me when that other Little One died.

"Probably she beat and cursed it when it was alive," you say. Possibly, but one must look beneath the alien grime when searching for the Body of Man.

Just last night I put down my book, and went into the streets with the cry of the childless wife in *Paolo and Francesca* ringing in my ears:

"Eternal yearning, answered by the wind—."

I stopped to buy violets for Milady from a woman at the corner, clumsy, coarse-featured, and dark as a negro. About her head was tied a bright red shawl, and she was almost ludicrous in her ugliness.

"Mother, give me a flower," the street-boys cried, and "Mother, mother, may n't we have just one?" called a crowd of little girls.

"Surely these are not all yours," I said.

"No," she answered, "but I love to be called mother, and I ask 'em to, and sometimes I pay 'em—just with flowers—for I never had a child to call me so."

She turned her face away, and the vein in her neck throbbed in a way that told of coming tears. As I turned homeward my mind compared the noble Lucrezia with the poor violet-seller, but my heart prayed the old Hindu prayer: "Lord, teach me that all things are One."

Wise men see that the tug-of-war has come for this country, which is the Promised Land for the poor of all nations. Jacob Riis has stated the problem baldly

and honestly in his *Battle With the Slum*: "For it is one thing or the other: either we wipe out the slum, or it wipes us out," and he tells us, too, how the problem may be solved, which is more than the calamity-howler, or "the-world-is-growing-worse" pessimist ever does. He says:

"You do not want to come down to your work for your fellows when you go from the brown-stone front to the tenement, but neither do you want to make him believe that you are coming up to him, for you know that you do not feel that way.

"You want to come right over, to help him to reform conditions with which he cannot grapple alone. For that is the brotherhood, and now you can see that that is the only thing that really helps.

"Children of one Father!

"Spin all the fine theories you like, build up systems of profound philosophy, of social ethics, of philanthropic endeavor; back to that you must get if you get anywhere at all."

There is meat for the thinker.

Alice Brown has written a paragraph that may well be a warning for indifferent men and women bent upon pleasure, and the cruel individuals who fancy themselves fortunate in being able to grind the faces of the poor:

"I do n't think you 'll have your way for very long at a time. You 'll seem to have it, but you must remember the universe is built on honor. The foundations were laid very deep and strong before you and I were born. It won't do the least good for us to tinker up little laws of our own. They 'll only get smashed, and we with them," says blunt Dr. Milbanke in *Margaret Warren*.

Beside the wise men, the butterflies and the oppressors are the people who belong to a fourth class. They, in their charity, do infinite harm, but if once convinced of that harm, they cease to do it, and cease also to accomplish the infinite uses that are given into their loving hands to perform. They do not learn to temper mercy with justice, but cast mercy aside,

and cling painfully to a cold and unsatisfying justice.

"Since justice has replaced charity on the prescription, the patient is improving," says Jacob Riis, and it is sternly true. It is pitifully easy to make beggars, and when one has made a beggar, he will usually find that he has made an enemy. But while we are selfishly and unselfishly careful to guard the priceless treasure of true pride and self-respect in those whom we are privileged to help, let us be careful that we pass none by who need us. Some little one starving for love,—and ministrations; some desolate, desperate man needing a new hope to which he may cling,—and work; some weary woman to whom you may give cheer,—and the help of your hands; perchance one whose pride is swallowed up in suffering, and who cannot be harmed by your most generous gifts. Let us particularly remember these last, for how intolerable must be the days and nights of those who can only pray:

"Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

How hot it was in the little room with its one window opening upon the air-shaft—the *air*-shaft—and everything that her eyes rested on, from dirty verminous walls to dirty verminous floor, was hideous.

Poor eyes, so tired and bright; poor parched lips, and dry wasted hands with the curious finger-tips, and poor weary body burning with fever, and lungs gasping for clean air that was not.

Some one—oh, how could she?—had read to her of green pastures and still waters, and she told me, when the cough would let her, of the night just past.

"I got to thinkin'," she said, "of how it would feel to lay out in the wet green grass, and have the cool rain fallin' on me, and it seemed as real as real, and then somebody stepped on a baby on the stairs and nearly killed it, and I coughed till I was 'most dead, but when I did get to sleep, I had the rummest dream. I thought I was layin' by a water-thing [a fountain], with a marble edge, so cool—you can 't think—and I drank and drank,

and the water came up around me, and great branches of white grapes with green leaves hung into the water, and when I ate some of 'em—cold as ice—I had n't any pain at all, but just a sort of peaceful *dead* feeling, like when you first wake up, and have n't begun to cough yet. My, it was good!"

Poor dreamer! It was stifling in the dark dreadful room, and the air was full of the sound of the crying of children, dying by the score in that great hive of human life. Outside the sun beat down on the reeking pavements, and the heat was almost unbearable, but on the fruit-stand at the corner lay pounds and pounds of grapes holding coolness and freshness within their dusty skins. A paltry pound in a coarse white dish filled with ice and fresh water made the dream almost true, and cooled the parched mouth for a day and a night, but poverty means that thousands, who like her, are in the grasp of the "Living Death," could as easily buy a diamond as the piece of ice, or the fruit that would make the suffering less intolerable for a space.

It was pitiful to see a little one of seven die with a tiny basket of fruit, which came too late, alas! pressed against her breast. For weeks she had been able to eat but little of the coarse food which was provided in that wretched home, but she went out, bless her, not knowing of her poverty, for had she not her basket of fruit and a new doll?

"Who are the poor that the preacher man told about?" she asked, and her mother, hiding her tears, told her that the poor were those who had not enough to eat and wear.

"I am glad that we are not poor, Mamma," she whispered, and so went where there are no poor.

Yes, it is pitifully easy to make beggars, but oh, we must not fear that we may harm the little ones, or those travelers that are so near the end of their journey, if we venture to give them more than the cup of cold water.

Vineland, N. J. A. L. SYKES.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

CHILD-SLAVERY: DEMOCRACY'S PRESENT BATTLE WITH THE MOLOCH OF GREED.

One of The Gravest and Most Fundamental Problems Confronting The Statesmanship of America.

ONE OF the gravest and most essentially fundamental problems before the American people to-day is that relating to the overthrow of child-slavery, which is rapidly becoming one of the most sinister perils that threaten the Republic of to-morrow, as it is also the capital crime against the helpless young. It is a question in behalf of which right, reason and humanity are battling against the sordid present-day commercialism that is the most deadly menace to free institutions; and furthermore, it is a question about which no right-thinking American can be indifferent, especially in view of the fact that the modern plutocracy that in recent years has so successfully pulled the strings of power in state and nation, is alive to the fact that the American people are awakening to the evil. Already the greed-governed interests are working, mole-like but actively, to prevent by delays any further effective official investigations as to the nature and extent of this crime against civilization and to check or, if that is impossible, to emasculate, any legislation that would strike at the root of the evil and destroy it. Of the most immediate and, because of its underhanded character, the most dangerous peril along this line, against the success of which all humanity-loving people should direct their efforts, we shall presently speak. Just now, however, we ask our readers to call to mind some historical facts that are germane to the subject; for the battle of democracy is the battle for human emancipation and individual development and progress, and at every step it has encountered the forces of privilege and reaction which under varying guises have ever been actuated by the same twin spirit—the passion for gain and for power; and the struggle for the emancipation of the children, that alone can guarantee a noble civilization for coming ages, is no new conflict.

What The Democratic Epoch Represents.

With the advent of democracy the great

aggressive battle for human rights, freedom and justice was inaugurated. Democracy struck first at the fountain-head of despotism—government of the people by the privileged few. It declared, and declared in no uncertain tones, that the source of government lay, not in the throne, the aristocracy, or any privileged class claiming to know more than the people or assuming to act in the interests of the people while doing things which were contrary to the wishes and interests of the populace. It declared as its great fundamental postulate that in the people, and in the people alone, resided the law-making power. All government derived its just power from the consent of the governed. It insisted that the law-makers and all persons entrusted with the interpretation and execution of the law should be the servants and not the masters of the people. Thus we find George Washington saying in regard to those entrusted with law-making and executing power, "They are no more than creatures of the people," and again that, "The powers under the Constitution will always be with the people."

But democracy did not rest with this first and supreme demand that the people should be recognized as the head and fountain of government and that the representatives should represent and not misrepresent their wishes. It contended that as essential requirements for free institutions, human progress and growth, three other further facts should be recognized: namely, (1) the rights of man—equal justice and equality of opportunities and of rights for all; (2) the emancipation of the brain of man—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of association; (3) universal education of the young—a basic requisite for the success of free government. And this last demand necessarily carried with it the freedom and protection of the young in the full enjoyment of that education, so essential to the State. These four fundamental or basic demands of democracy, when once accepted, led naturally to a steadily broadening moral vision. All forms of slavery became hateful to men who accepted the new evangel of civilization. Justice for the weak

became not only a sacred duty imposed on the national conscience, but the highest wisdom. And thus step by step the new handmaid of civilization sought to lead the awakened social conscience and intelligence up the highway of enduring progress.

But, as has ever been the case in the story of the slow ascent of man, the dazzling victories that marked the advent of democracy were clouded by excesses, the legitimate but deplorable result of centuries of oppression; and these excesses gave the forces of class-rule, oppression and reaction the opportunity for which selfishness, ambition, privilege and greed are ever watching, and a period of reaction set in in Europe after the dawn of the democratic epoch. It, however, was succeeded by another incoming tide of popular sentiment, and this recurrence of democratic sentiment demanded further emancipation for the weak and oppressed. Then it was that the conscience of England awakened to the horrors of child-slavery as then practiced.

Child Slavery in England During The First Half of The Nineteenth Century.

One of the most striking features of the great moral or democratic awakening of the second quarter of the nineteenth century in England was the general protest on the part of humanitarians and reformers which led to the modification in a material manner of the frightful conditions attending child-slavery in Great Britain. This noble crusade for tender and helpless childhood and in behalf of a greater and better England was led in the halls of state by Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury; in the church by Canon Charles Kingsley and Frederic D. Maurice; in the field of philanthropic and social reform by Robert Owen; while the poets of the day contributed some of their noblest verse in behalf of the children. It was at this time that Elizabeth Barrett, later Mrs. Browning, penned her well-known poem, "The Cry of the Children," which thrilled England and in a large way awakened the sleeping conscience of the people. Charles Mackay, one of the greatest of the people's poets of the age, at this time wrote his memorable poem entitled "The Souls of the Children," the first three stanzas of which ran as follows:

"Who bids for the little children,—
Body, and soul, and brain?

Who bids for the little children,—
Young, and without a stain?
Will no one bid,' said England,
'For their souls so pure and white,
And fit for all good or evil,
The world on their page may write?'

'We bid,' said Pest and Famine,
'We bid for life and limb;
Fever and pain and squalor
Their bright young eyes shall dim.
When the children grow too many,
We 'll nurse them as our own,
And hide them in secret places,
Where none may hear their moan.'

'I bid,' said Beggary, howling,
'I bid for them, one and all!
I 'll teach them a thousand lessons—
To lie, to skulk, to crawl!
They shall sleep in my lair, like maggots,
They shall rot in the fair sunshine;
And if they serve my purpose,
I hope they 'll answer thine.'"

But the fine, sensitive heart of woman, always quick to respond when the call of humanity is made, and the popular poet of the people, were not alone in voicing in verse the imperious demand of democracy in behalf of the helpless little ones who were the victims of the soulless spirit of commercial greed. Perhaps the most remarkable poem indicating the materialistic commercialism which fattens off the little child slaves was written by Lord Bulwer-Lytton in his great poem, "King Arthur." Here we find in the following notable lines the English novelist and poet representing King Arthur as peering into the future by means of the magic power given him, and appalled at seeing the state to which England in the far-off nineteenth century should descend. We know of few more graphic or striking pictures of Christian civilization under the dominion of the present-day commercial spirit—civilization crazed by the mania for gold—than are found in these lines:

"Slow fades the pageant, and the Phantom stage
As slowly fill'd with squalid, ghastly forms;
Here, over fireless hearths, cower'd shivering Age
And blew with feeble breath dead embers;—
storms
Hung in the icy welkin; and the bare
Earth lay forlorn in Winter's charnel air.

No careless Childhood laugh'd disportingly,
But dwarf'd, pale mandrakes, with a century's
gloom
On infant brows, beneath a poison-tree
With skeleton fingers plied a ghastly loom,
Mocking in cynic jest life's gravest things;
They wove gay King-robcs, muttering 'What are
Kings?'

And through that dreary Hades to and fro,
Stalk'd all unheeded the Tartarean Guests;
Grim Discontent that loathes the Gods, and Woe
Clasping dead infants to her milkless breasts;
And maddening Hate, and Force with iron heel,
And voiceless Vengeance sharp'ning secret steel.

'Can such things be below and God above?'
Falter'd the King;—replied the Genius—'Nay,
This is the state the sages most approve;
This is Man civilized!—the perfect sway
Of Merchant Kings; the ripeness of the Art
Which cheapens men—the Elysium of the Mart.'"

The great moral awakening in England achieved great things in modifying conditions in the opening conflict in a war which must be waged until democracy and humanity have triumphed. In America after the Civil war there came a period of moral inertia and exhaustion on the part of the people, during which, as is always the case in such periods, the retrogressive forces of reaction, greed and oppression were quick to stealthily advance along various lines. One by one the high old ideals of democracy were quietly ignored in the interests of privilege, monopoly and the gambling-world of Wall street. Then came that unholy alliance between the political machine and the commercial feudalism, in which the princes of privilege virtually furnished the money to form public opinion and carry elections, while they in return either named those who were to misrepresent the people or were guaranteed ample assurances that their special grafts or interests would be protected by the recreant government and the faithless public servants. As a natural result, the great corporations operating public utilities, vast monopolies, and the men of master-brains and seared consciences who placed profit or the acquisition of gold above all considerations of human rights and justice to the people, became the master-spirits in a vigorous young plutocracy that for years has been banishing from the temple of free government the representatives of the democracy of Jefferson and the republicanism of Lincoln. The Treasury Department was turned over to bankers long trained to fight for the special privileges of the banking class and moneyed interests. Trusts were given greater and greater protection in their merciless robbery of the people by tariffs that enabled them to compel the American people to pay far more for their products than the same products were sold for by the American trusts in England, Canada and other foreign lands. Meanwhile the railroads were permitted to defy

laws, destroy great business enterprises through discrimination, and rob the people at will, and the great manufacturing and mining corporations were not only given the power to take untold millions of money from all the American people by the monopoly rights granted through special legislation, but their greed, fed on princely returns through the plunder of the millions, has been insatiable, and step by step they have proceeded to augment their wealth by displacing men wherever possible and employing women and later children of tender years, until there are vast armies of little ones who should be living the normal, healthy life of children, when not attending school, but who are condemned to perpetual slavery in mill, factory and mine—slavery that is dwarfing body, mind and soul, taking from them the priceless birth-right which is the hope of a glorious heritage for the America of to-morrow. And this crime of measureless proportions is being justified by the same specious arguments and sophistries which have ever been summoned to uphold the moral criminality of the would-be despots and oppressors of humanity.

The Rise of Moral Sentiment and Democratic Spirit Against The Slavery of The Young.

During recent years a persistent and an increasingly effective campaign has been carried on by small groups of high-minded patriots looking toward acquainting the people with this crime against the children. Of these splendid workers who have made war against child-slavery, the Socialists have been probably the most persistent and insistent workers; and some of their number—men like John Spargo and Robert Hunter—have contributed great, important and authoritative works to the literature of juvenile emancipation. Then there have been a number of radical and progressive democrats who have stood preëminently representative of the conscience force in American political and economic life—thinkers like Edwin Markham, the prophet-poet of democracy; Henry George, Jr., and other equally able and conscientious workers for a nobler civilization; while perhaps as much really effective work has been accomplished by brave and high-minded American women as by any other class of workers. They have investigated the conditions and have pointed out the facts with the moral insistence that marks aroused woman-

hood, and they have made their appeal directly to the heart and the higher emotions of the people. In this work also the social reformers and moral leaders among the women have been ably seconded by certain high-minded clergymen, among whom perhaps none deserves such special mention as the Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, an earnest worker who in the present crusade reminds one strongly of Canon Kingsley and Frederic D. Maurice in the earlier days when the battle was being fought in England for the oppressed among the men, women and children of Great Britain. But now as was the case in England, the splendid services that isolated clergymen are rendering to the cause of the children necessarily emphasize in a striking manner the moral inertia of the body of the clergy in the presence of this blighting crime. The work of these leaders of moral progress and democratic advance has at last aroused the conscience of the nation to such a degree that politicians awake to the growing unrest of the hour, but who have for the most part heretofore been strangely indifferent to this crime and others for which the feudalism of wealth is directly responsible, are now responding to the public outcry.

President Roosevelt's Noble Words on Child-Labor.

In his recent message the President uttered the following noble words on the subject of child-labor:

"Let me again urge that the Congress provide for a thorough investigation of the conditions of child-labor and of the labor of women in the United States. More and more our people are growing to recognize the fact that the questions which are not merely of industrial but of social importance outweigh all others; and these two questions most emphatically come in the category of those which affect in the most far-reaching way the home-life of the Nation. The horrors incident to the employment of young children in factories or at work anywhere are a blot on our civilization. It is true that each state must ultimately settle the question in its own way; but a thorough official investigation of the matter, with the results published broadcast, would greatly help toward arousing the public conscience and securing unity of State action in the matter. There is, however, one law on the subject which should be enacted

immediately, because there is no need for an investigation in reference thereto, and the failure to enact it is discreditable to the National Government. A drastic and thorough-going child-labor law should be enacted for the District of Columbia and the Territories."

It will be noticed that the President commits himself strongly and unequivocally to a measure for the thorough official investigation of child-labor in the United States and also strongly urges thorough-going and drastic child-labor laws for the District of Columbia and the Territories. These utterances do credit to the President and will meet with the hearty approval of conscience-guided and truly democratic citizens everywhere. But the proposed provision will be opposed by all those interested in getting cheap goods for great department stores, rendered possible only by the inhuman system of sweating, no less than by the immensely rich mining corporations and the textile, glass and other manufacturing interests in which child-slavery is extensively practiced. Indeed, already this opposition of the interests is in evidence. If Congress will make the provision for a strong, honest and exhaustive investigation of all conditions attending the employment of children, in sweat-shops, in factories and in mines, there will be brought before the public facts that will establish the claim of conscientious investigators in such a way that the States will be forced to act; and if the investigation is accompanied by proper legislation in the District of Columbia and the Territories, such statutes can easily be made general working models for the States, only so modified as to cover the conditions that prevail in the different commonwealths.

Will The President Back Up His Words by Throwing His Influence For The Protection of The Young?

The influence which a President can properly or legitimately exert in such a case as this is very great and more than sufficient, when backed as he is in this instance by the awakened conscience of the nation, to render inevitable such legislation as he has recommended. And by the exertion of legitimate influence we merely mean that active discussion of measures and appeals to the conscience and manhood of his friends in Congress that a high-minded statesman might properly resort to, without any attempts to coerce or

over-influence anyone by threat of displeasure.

If the strong appeal of the President as given above had come from an official like Governor Folk of Missouri, occupying a position of relative strength such as that held by President Roosevelt, there would be every reason to expect both recommendations would be carried out; for Governor Folk has always acted on the theory that "words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so." He has always modestly and clearly set forth what he would strive to do if elected, and then has faithfully carried out his pledges. Or if the above words had come from a clear-visioned, consistent and intrepid statesman whose past political career had demonstrated him to be a man of resolute character and moral stamina—a man of such persistence in carrying forward what he conceived to be right as has ever been displayed by Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, there would be little question but what the provisions would be crystallized into laws; because Mayor Johnson has never allowed any considerations of personal or party interest to stand in the way of his determined endeavor to secure whatever he believed to be for the best interests of all the people. Both Governor Folk and Mayor Johnson are preëminently "doers of the word" rather than mere preachers of that which is obviously just and right.

Unhappily, such cannot be said of President Roosevelt. He is a preacher *par excellence*, and he possesses as positive a genius for uttering striking and admirable epigrams as he has a faculty for disregarding them after they have been promulgated. His famous utterance, "Words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so," is an excellent motto which if consistently followed by the President would lead to sweeping and fundamental victories for the people in a period of moral awakening like the present, when the temper of the public is ready to support any radical measures proposed by the chief executive. Yet nothing is, we think, clearer to the careful student of present-day events than that the plutocracy does not at heart fear the President. The great gamblers of Wall street and the chief buccaneers among the representatives of predatory wealth are for the most part among his personal friends and liberal campaign supporters. They are men on the most intimate terms with Secretary Root, Mr. Cortelyou, First Assistant-Secretary Bacon, and others who are almost as near to the President

as are these most intimate of his councillors. True, from time to time they indulge in stage-play to throw dust in the eyes of the people, or to serve a warning on the President that he must not go too far; but so long as their life-long servant, Root, is the administration's mouthpiece and the President's chief-of-staff, and so long as fat-frying Cortelyou is rewarded for his great service in getting large sums of money for Roosevelt's campaign from the insurance grafters—those "safe and sane" scoundrels who have been misappropriating the people's insurance money—by being promoted to be Secretary of the Treasury, where his position will enable him to secure untold wealth for political purposes from the banks and other representatives of the feudalism of wealth,—so long, we say, as a politician so beholden to Wall-street gamblers and so thoroughly satisfactory to the great heads of public-service corporations is made Secretary of the Treasury, the plutocracy will stand as solidly for Roosevelt as it has stood by him in the past. So we very much fear that now that the President has gone on record as he has in regard to child-slavery, the matter, in so far as he is actually concerned, will receive little encouragement. In this we hope we may be mistaken, and if so it will afford us great pleasure to acknowledge such mistake; but the political history of Mr. Roosevelt since he became President does not give us much hope in this direction, since it is apparent that the powerful interests that have so long dominated the Republican party are awake and working to defeat the proposed governmental investigation as well as the suggested legislation for the District of Columbia and the Territories.

Sinister Forces at Work Which We Fear Will Influence The President.

It has recently developed that the Civic Federation or master-spirits in that organization presided over by August Belmont, one of the chief plutocrats of the country, is anxious to head off the proposed governmental investigation of child-labor and in lieu of the investigation appoint a committee of their own men to conduct an inquiry. Now the Civic Federation, with Mr. Belmont, the great public-service magnate, as its master-spirit, is not an organization that has up to the present time given the public any evidence of that conspicuous impartiality that would entitle it to public confidence. True, among its prom-

inent members are many of our noblest reform-workers, but the fact remains that it not only embraces a large number of the leading representatives of the feudalism of privileged interests that is aggressively fighting progressive democracy and the popular interests, but it is also true that the heavy financial contributions come largely if not chiefly from the rich beneficiaries of class legislation—the men who are determined at all hazards to maintain the present order and beat back the growing demand for public-ownership and equitable legislation in the interests of all the people. Furthermore, it is true that the Federation has conducted extensive investigations of the working of public-ownership in England, and it was hoped that a full report of this investigation could have been published long ere this. Doubtless if that report had been as favorable to the interests of the public-service companies as Mr. Belmont and other master-spirits in the Federation had hoped, the report would long since have appeared, or at least a preliminary report giving the substance of the findings; yet up to the present time no report or preliminary report has appeared and until the Federation publishes and widely distributes the report that fully and fairly gives all sides of the great question and the results of the findings, it will justly rest under suspicion of being so strongly beholden to predatory wealth or the feudalism of privileged interests that no great value can be expected for the cause of civic righteousness from any of its labors.

Now why does the Civic Federation want to shunt a full and exhaustive investigation of the conditions attending child-labor in factories, sweat-shops, mines and mills throughout America—a full and comprehensive investigation conducted by impartial government officials which would exert an authoritative influence over the public mind and over state governments which no private investigation or investigation by a clique or a coterie could possibly exert? Obviously because the influence of the Moloch of greed is so great in the Civic Federation that master-spirits in that organization who are being enriched through the slavery of the young, justly dread an official investigation directed by such a competent person as Commissioner Neill.

It has been argued by some of the Civic Federation leaders that there are comparatively few children employed at labor outside of the farms and in open-air pursuits in this

country; that there are comparatively few wretched little slaves in the sweat-shops, factories and mines. If this is true, the government investigation would only give authoritative voice to the fact, and any benefit that might come from the substantiation of such fact would be greater if it came from the government than if it came from the report of a committee appointed by a federation already under public suspicion. If the Civic Federation attempted to carry out an investigation of child-labor in lieu of a governmental investigation, we predict that one of two things would follow: Either a strongly biased report would be published that would be very gratifying to the great merchant-princes who are sweaters, no less than to the factory chiefs and the mine-owners; or else, what would be still more probable, the report would be delayed and dragged on from year to year until the public interest which is now aroused and which the slave-masters are in dread of, should have subsided.

There is therefore no good or valid reason why the President's recommendations should not be speedily carried out by Congress, and there is no reason to believe that any investigation conducted by the Civic Federation would serve any purpose other than to interfere with the proposed governmental investigation and ultimately defeat the cause of humanity. Therefore it is the duty of all friends of sound morality and civic righteousness, all persons who are interested in the welfare of the little ones of the land, to be ready to meet and oppose the powerful efforts of the Federation, if, as we are led to believe, it attempts to shunt the government investigation and substitute for it an investigation conducted by its own members.

Secretary Strauss' Attitude and Its Possible Influence on The President.

To us one of the most disquieting facts relating to this question is the attitude of Mr. Oscar Strauss, the new Cabinet member. He is one of the Civic Federation leaders who are extremely anxious, if we are rightly informed, to prevent the government conducting the proposed investigation of child-labor. Every one who knows how anxious Mr. Roosevelt always is to please the members of his official family and his strong personal friends, will feel disquieted at the advent into the Cabinet of the great merchant who is, we are informed, so strongly opposed to governmental

investigation of child-slavery and who affects to believe the child-labor evil is far less extensive than the people believe.

Knowing Mr. Roosevelt as we think we do, we greatly fear that he will not be found exerting his strong influence in favor of the excellent proposals made in his message, in view of his new minister's opposition to the same;

and therefore we would urge all friends of the children everywhere to write their Congressmen and Senators urging most insistently that they actively work for the carrying out of the President's proposed suggestions for the protection and rights of the children and for the salvation and increasing greatness of our Republic.

OPPOSING VIEWS ON MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP: A NOTABLE SYMPOSIUM BY LEADING SPECIALISTS.

A Battle of Giants.

IN THE October and November numbers of *Moody's Magazine*, one of the leading financial journals of the land, appears a symposium by the most prominent advocates and opponents of municipal-ownership of natural monopolies. The case of popular ownership of public utilities is ably presented by a number of master-thinkers whose eminence and character entitle their views to special regard. Among these are Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D., Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, Ex-Governor L. F. C. Garvin of Rhode Island, Hon. John Ford of New York, Senator Frederic C. Howe of Cleveland, Mayor Dunne of Chicago, Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, and William P. Hill, Ph.D.

Among those who appear in behalf of the over-rich private corporations operating public utilities are Edward W. Burdett, attorney for the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston, the Massachusetts Electric Lighting Company, etc.; Henry Clews, the Wall-street banker and upholder of privileged interests; W. W. Freeman, vice-president and general manager of the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Brooklyn, New York; and Arthur Williams, President of the National Electric Lighting Association. Of the other writers who champion private-ownership we do not know how many are in the employ of the public-service corporations or otherwise personally interested in these monopolies, but the arguments in most instances read far more like lawyers' briefs than able discussions of persons who are conscientiously defending what they believe to be true and who are anxious to present the whole facts and not mis-state or cover up vital truths.

Typical Illustrations of The Tactics of The Special-Pleaders for The Public-Service Companies.

A few illustrations will emphasize this disposition to mislead the public by misrepresentation through suppressing vital facts in a controversy, or by reckless assertions in lieu of arguments. In his article Mr. H. T. Newcomb, who zealously pleads the cause of the notorious Cleveland Electric Railway Company, thus seeks to make the public believe that Mayor Johnson is opposed to a referendum vote and is thus false to his oft-repeated advocacy of home-rule and his contention that the people should decide all questions in which they are immediately interested:

"All that the Cleveland Electric Railway is now asking of Mayor Johnson and the City Council is that the acceptance or rejection of the offer just outlined shall be left to the decision of the popular vote of the people of Cleveland. So far this request has been denied, although those who are denying it have heretofore given verbal adherence to the principle of the referendum."

Unhappily for this advocate of the malodorous Cleveland street railway corporation, Senator Frederic C. Howe in the symposium discusses the situation in Cleveland and incidentally tells the whole truth, which not only puts Mr. Newcomb in a very unfortunate position but entirely changes the aspect of the contention while exposing in a striking manner one of the most common methods of the special pleaders of plutocracy in misleading the people, either by misrepresenting or partially stating facts. On this point Senator Howe, who, it will be remembered, is the author of that extremely able work, *The City*

the Hope of Democracy, and who is recognized as one of the ablest thinkers among the younger statesmen of Ohio, says:

"In advocacy of its position, The Cleveland Electric Railway Company has imported paid experts to make public opinion. It has hired advertising space in the newspapers to promote its cause. Having failed to secure its franchise from the Council, it is appealing to the people as a final resort. It has asked that its proposition be submitted to a popular vote. But it has refused to be bound in any way by that vote if it is adverse to its interests. It seeks a referendum on the 'Heads-I-win, tails-you-lose' basis. Mayor Johnson has declared that he favored a referendum which would bind somebody, a referendum which the company was bound to accept, one in which they would lose, as well as gain, something. His proposition has been to submit, at the same time, the ordinances of The Cleveland Electric and The Forest City Railway, under a binding agreement of their directors that they would abide by the decision of the people. The Cleveland Electric has shown no inclination to accept this modification to its own proposal."

Another illustration of this attempt to mislead the public is found in the paper by Mr. Arthur Williams, president of the National Electric Lighting Association. In speaking of municipal-ownership in England, Mr. Williams says:

"While municipal-ownership is for the moment a popular fad in America, there is evidence of a decided check in that direction in England—the home and chief exponent of this insidious form of Socialism."

There is only one thing the matter with the above statement, and that is that it is not true. No fact is better established than that the present drift and current of public sentiment in Great Britain is overwhelmingly in favor of municipal-ownership, and, more than this, that it is rapidly increasing all the time. True, in recent years in London the friends of popular ownership and progressive democracy suffered a check or partial defeat, due to a number of causes, but such isolated reverses are always present in the history of every great onward movement. But Mr. Williams does not stop here. He raises the old, threadbare and oft-exploded alarmist cry about increase

of municipal indebtedness incident to the cities taking over the public utilities, and would have the people believe that the changes which private companies as well as cities have to make, in order to keep public utilities up to the demands of the times, represent in the hands of the cities a frightful waste that makes the owning of these utilities, that are the source of such enormous and ever-increasing wealth to private corporations, a source of grave danger if not of bankruptcy where they are found in the hands of municipalities. We think it was Sir Oliver Lodge who noticed the alarmist cry of increase of municipal indebtedness incident to cities taking over public utilities, raised by those who are striving to keep those great gold mines of modern metropolitan life—the public utilities—in the hands of a few over-rich men and corporations. He showed that these obligations assumed by a city were not debts in the ordinary sense; that they were rather investments for the good and profit of the community, carrying with them enormous asset values—values that were in most instances worth more than the obligations and which were in the nature of the case continually becoming more and more valuable; so that nothing could be more absurd than this cry of the public-service corporations and their tools and special-pleaders.

The men who are so anxious to prevent our cities from acquiring public utilities that are annually pouring from one to ten million dollars into the pockets of a few privileged individuals, which under public ownership would go for the improvement of the service, the reduction of taxes and the raising of wages, seem to imagine that the American people have lost the power of reasoning for themselves. Who are the men most vociferous in their cries against public-ownership? The officers and attorneys in the great public-service corporations, with here and there professors in some college or university that like the Chicago University is subsidized by individuals who have been rendered enormously rich through monopoly rights and special privileges. And these are the men who are so anxious that their employers and the companies they represent should assume the enormous debts that they would have us believe would jeopardize the credit of any city, and thus save the imperilled municipalities.

The whole claim is so transparent, so absurdly transparent, that the advancing of it by leading special-pleaders for corporate in-

terests exposes the essential weakness of the case for private-ownership. This pitiful exhibition of the sophistry of the special-pleaders for the feudalism of privileged wealth is nothing new. We remember a few years ago, when Henry D. Lloyd published his great work on New Zealand and the wonderful facts showing the results that had followed a government of the people, by the people and for the people, acting at all times in the interests of the masses and discouraging class aggressions, and furthermore demonstrating the splendid result of government-ownership of railways, telegraphs, telephones and other public utilities, a great cry was raised that New Zealand was groaning under a terrible debt, and this statement was published from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the plutocratic press and the hired agents of the public-service companies in schools and on the rostrum, until the facts of the case were made plain. Then it was shown that while the great public debts of other countries largely if not chiefly represented the waste of war and the fearful outlay for armaments and the hire of soldiers, all of which represented no tangible asset on which values could be realized, the debt of New Zealand was almost entirely an investment that could not do other than return an ever-increasing revenue to the State while becoming more and more valuable all the time; and that this debt, that from a purely commercial view-point represented a wise investment, was also raising to independence the mass of the citizens and making them wealth-producers who were adding materially to the annual wealth-creation in the commonwealth. It was shown that the state debt represented its investments in railways, in telegraphs, and in land taken over from larger holders who were keeping it idle, and which was sold or leased in small parcels on advantageous terms to real settlers, so that it would eventually bring an ample return to the state, and that in these and in various other ways the state was wisely developing the resources of the land in such a way as to make a great commonwealth of independent, prosperous and happy citizens. Since the real facts were brought out we have heard little about the debt of New Zealand.

Had we space we should like to notice other similar shallow and sophistical claims made by the advocates of private interests in the symposium under consideration. We must, however, content ourselves with a brief notice

of Mr. Henry Clews' paper. This gentleman, as most of our readers doubtless know, is a banker and one of the high-priests of Wall-street finance. In his article he displays all the recklessness in assertion and contempt for facts which mark a certain class of men who seem to measure worth and ability only by the standard of acquisition of dollars, and who seem to think that the earnest, thinking millions of America are all ignoramuses, incapable of reasoning clearly on any subject. If a school-boy of ten years should talk about a subject on which he was supposed to have some knowledge, as ignorantly or as recklessly as does Mr. Clews on municipal-ownership, he would be summarily sent to the foot of his class by any discriminating teacher. It is indeed difficult to conceive how it is possible for any one to be as dense or as mendacious as is this writer. Here is a choice specimen of Mr. Clews' logic in attempting to help the cause of the predatory bands that are realizing untold millions of dollars from the operation of public utilities. He first gravely informs us that it would be impossible for any government to assume ownership of all the business done even by corporations that have been chartered by the state; and in speaking of the state and city, Mr. Clews says:

"If it is right that they should acquire one line of business, it is right that they should control all."

To fully appreciate how puerile is this claim, let the reader turn to the extract which we make elsewhere from the arguments of Mayor Johnson and Mr. Louis F. Post. Again, in speaking of those who advocate public-ownership, this high-priest of the privileged interests and beneficiaries of class legislation says:

"They may fool the ignorant, but the intelligent can see the fallacy of their arguments. Brains and courage will not stand by and see a policy rule which is impossible in fulfilling. Public work always lags and work for individuals and corporations is generally pushed to early completion, and so it would be in a greater degree the more municipal-ownership extended."

There you have it. Professor Frank Parsons, one of the greatest authorities on economic and political science in America, Mayor Dunne of Chicago, Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, Ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island,

Hon. Frederic C. Howe, the brilliant leader of the democracy in the Ohio Senate, W. P. Hill, Ph.D., and others who contend in this symposium, together with scores upon scores of others among the most able and thoughtful men of the land who have given years to profound study of the questions, are being condemned to the ranks of knaves or fools who are either striving to wickedly deceive the ignorant people or are themselves ignorant of the subject they aim to speak upon. True, the members of this great assembly that is resting under the condemnation of the high-priest of Wall-street finance, are not alone, as they have with them the city governments of most of the principal cities of Great Britain, the German government, the Swiss government and the government of New Zealand while most of the other enlightened lands have done, and most successfully done, many things that Mr. Clews believes cannot be performed by city, state or national government. And what is more, every year they are taking over more and more of their public utilities. Nor is that all. The result of public-ownership in Great Britain, in Europe and in Australasia is so satisfactory to the people that there is no danger of the people giving up their immensely valuable properties to the rapacity of privileged bands, that a few men may become multi-millionaires and be enabled, as has been the case in our country, to debauch government in all its ramifications. The twaddle such as Mr. Clews insults the intelligence of the general reader with, is typical of the efforts of the special-pleaders for the privileged interests that are attempting to stem the rising tide of public opinion in favor of popular ownership.

Let us now notice a few of the many facts dwelt upon by several leading thinkers who advocate public-ownership in this symposium.

Professor Parsons on Three Phases of The Question.

Space prevents our noticing many of the excellent arguments advanced by Professor Parsons and the other advocates of public-ownership in this symposium, and it is necessary for us to confine ourselves merely to brief extracts from the different arguments. In the case of Professor Parsons we quote what he has to say on (1) *private-ownership as a cause of bad government*; (2) *patriotic reasons for public-ownership*; and (3) *forces making for municipal-ownership*:

"The spoils system and the imperfection of our city governments do not constitute a valid argument against public-ownership. They are reasons for not jumping into public-ownership without any effort to secure good government, but they are not reasons against public-ownership. On the contrary, they are powerful reasons for public-ownership. What is the cause of political rottenness in our great cities? Is it not mainly the pressure of the public-service corporations on legislative bodies and public officials? That is what Pingree, Folk, La Follette, Ely, Shaw, Bemis, Commons and many other high authorities have affirmed. It is what the progressive press declares. It is what the people know. Public-ownership will remove the principal cause of political corruption. If the spoils system is left in control there will be trouble. But the spoils system must not be left in control. The spoils system must be abolished as well as the private monopolies. When urged to do one thing you ought to do, it is no answer to set up the fact that you have n't done another thing you ought to do. You tell a man he should stop drinking, and he says: 'How can I when I'm loafing around the saloons all the time?' You reply: 'Stop loafing around the saloons.' So with public-ownership and the spoils system. You say: 'Establish public-ownership of monopolies to secure pure government, diffusion of wealth, improvement of the conditions of labor, etc.,' and the corporations say: 'Look at your governments; see how rotten they are! What will public-ownership be under the spoils system?' The reply is: 'You make most of the rottenness yourself, and that's one of the reasons why we mean to get rid of you. And as for the use of public plants for party spoils, we intend to abolish the spoils system along with the private corporations.'

"On the other hand, it is manifest that public-ownership cannot be confined to street monopolies. The fundamental reasons for public-ownership are the protection and development of democracy and the diffusion of benefit. Where these ends cannot be adequately attained by private enterprise, public-ownership is necessary. Take education, for example. It does not demand special privileges in the streets, and it does not partake of the nature of monopoly. But its wide diffusion at low charges, or without charge, is so important to the public weal that it is

held to be a public function by all but the most extreme conservatives or retrogressionists.

"Similar reasoning applies to fire service, parks, hospitals, etc. Railroads and telegraphs are as much within the reasons for public-ownership as street-railways or telephone exchanges.

"Whatever we may think of the virtues and vices of public-ownership, whether we join with Tammany and the corporations in opposing it, or with Bryan, Hearst, Johnson & Company in advocating it, there can be little doubt that it is coming. The conduct of the corporations is more eloquent in favor of public-ownership than is their spoken or written argument against it. Every time they inflate their capital or buy up a legislature they convert more voters to public-ownership than they can argue back again in a twelvemonth. And aside from the good or bad behavior of the companies, the giant forces that underlie the movement of industrial organization are sweeping us on towards public-ownership.

"In modern industrial development the principle of union is emphatic. Men combine for industrial purposes in larger and larger groups—the syndicate, the corporation, the trust, and finally, in the case of public enterprise, the whole community. It is simply the manifestation of that fundamental tendency to integration which Herbert Spencer has shown to be a part of the law of progress.

"The growing tendency toward the dominance of public interest over private interest is equally manifest. The successive waves of legislation for the regulation of railways and other forms of monopoly that have swept over this country, are expressions of this tendency, as are also the coöperative and public-ownership movements in Europe, America and Australia. In an enlightened community with the public-school, the printing press, and universal suffrage, the interest of all is a stronger force than the interest of the few and must in time subdue it.

"These two all-powerful principles of union and control in the public interest lead inevitably, in the field of monopoly, to public-ownership. In fact, public-ownership is simply union and the dominance of public interest in full bloom. Union for economy and power will go on until it ends in the final form of union for all. The law of industrial

gravitation will continue to act in spite of Sherman acts and other legislative twigs in the way of the falling meteors and planets. Public interest will triumph over private interest and the interest of all will conquer the interest of the few. Follow the line of growing dominance of public interest to where it meets the line of union and you have public-ownership—the marriage of organization and public interest. In the open field of commerce manufactures and agriculture, we may move toward union in the public interest by the path of voluntary coöperation, but in the field of monopoly that path is practically closed, and legislative action establishing public-ownership and operation is the only means of escaping from union *against* the public interest and securing union *in* the public interest."

Mayor Johnson on Those Utilities That a Community Should Properly Control.

Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland makes a clear, strong and able argument for public-ownership. He very clearly points out the difference between what he believes to be proper subjects for public-ownership and what should be retained by private parties. On this point he says:

"No enterprise should be considered a subject for municipal-ownership unless it (1) rests upon a public grant or franchise bestowing a special privilege; (2) is of such a nature that competition cannot enter with benefit to the people at large; (3) requires a very large expenditure of capital for a plant and equipment; and (4) contemplates a performance of its functions for a long period of time."

On the cost of service under private and public management Mayor Johnson has this to say:

"It is not difficult to compare the cost of any public service under public and private ownership. Under private-ownership the charge to be collected from the public must be large enough to (1) pay operating expenses, (2) provide against depreciation and betterments, (3) earn a fair dividend on actual capital invested, (4) pay dividends on any securities issued in excess of the actual capital invested, and (5) to repay during the life of the grant not only the actual investment but the 'water' as well.

"Under municipal-ownership the cost of service would only have to include the first

two items with the addition of a sinking-fund charge to retire the bonds representing the original cost of the plant or from one-tenth to one-third of the fifth item.

"All the money now devoted to the third and fourth items and a greater part of the fifth item would either be saved directly in reduction of cost to the public or in bettering the service.

"Safeguard these activities by strict civil service and the most extravagant administration could not overcome the handicap imposed on private-ownership by the rules of modern finance."

And on the results of public-ownership he observes:

"Municipal-ownership applied to such functions as come under the rule first stated must then inevitably result in the following three benefits: (1) purify politics by extinguishing a powerful interest hostile to good government, (2) work betterments in service, and (3) reduce the cost of service to the public."

Hon. Frederic O. Howe on The Results of Public-Ownership in Cleveland.

Mr. Howe in speaking of conditions in Cleveland and Ohio, closes his admirable paper with the following observations showing the success of public-ownership in the water and garbage-plants of Cleveland:

"The conflict of interest, the control of the government, the misuse of the courts, the arrogance, insolence and terrorism which they exercise, has schooled the people to a resentment of any interest whose magnitude renders it immune from any control. Added to this is the unquestioned success of the Water Department in Cleveland. It makes three-quarters of a million dollars a year profit. Almost all consumers have been metered, and the average house-rate is \$5 a year. The garbage disposal plant has also been taken over by the city. Its service has been greatly extended and bettered, while the cost has been materially reduced."

Ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island on The Ethics and Expediency of Public-Ownership.

Ex-Governor L. F. C. Garvin of Rhode Island makes a clear and strong plea, in the course of which he shows that public-ownership rests on sound principles and is usually expedient:

"The theory of supplying a public service by a private corporation is this: A few enterprising men in a community agree to conduct the public utility for a reasonable return upon the investment made, at the same time paying into the public treasury the value of the right of way. Thus, if in a large city three-cent fares will pay all expenses and give the usual profit to investors, then two cents, the remainder of the five-cent fare, should go to the municipality for allowing the use of the streets. The principle involved in such a transaction seems to differ in no respect from that of licensing hack-drivers.

"On the other hand, under municipal-ownership and operation the business is carried on by the city, both the return for operating expenses and for right of way is covered into the treasury.

"To this course no objection can be sustained on principle. It is the manner in which most cities supply themselves and their inhabitants with water, a public service very analogous to the distribution of light, which in this country is mainly in private hands.

"The objection usually urged to municipal ownership is that the public should only perform such duties as cannot equally well be carried on by private enterprise. But the application of that objection in this case is to beg the question, which is, can a private corporation do the work in all respects as well as the city itself?

"On the other hand, many are doubtful of the ethical right of the public authorities, after taking from citizens any land for public purposes by the exercise of the power of eminent domain, to transfer that land, or a part of it, to other private citizens to their emolument.

"But, assuming that no principle is violated by either public or private ownership, then the question under discussion in this symposium resolves itself into one of expediency. If the public water-works of a city be compared with the private gas or electric lighting concerns, it will be found, almost universally, that the former is conducted the more satisfactorily. The private franchise, as a rule, has been gained by the corruption of some public officials. Oftentimes dividends have been manipulated by the directors and large stockholders in order to deceive and cheat the small investors. The tax paid for the use of the streets is wholly inadequate; and, not infrequently, the service rendered is

unsatisfactory to the consumer, because of its high price or inferior quality.

"Putting aside all other objections, the one which stands out most prominently is this: The private interests of those who have invested largely in a street franchise are antagonistic to those of the public. The wealthy men of the city, therefore, who ought to be the most useful citizens, are found to be really on the side of corrupt government."

Mr. Louis F. Post on The Evolution and Proper Functions of Government.

Mr. Louis F. Post, the able editor of the *Chicago Public*, traces the evolution of government and shows what things in his judgment a city, state and nation should properly take over and operate:

"Once it was customary to farm out the public business of collecting taxes. Tax farmers naturally resisted the abrogation of this custom; but tax collecting as a private business has so completely passed away that few persons now would advocate a return to private management of this public function. The administration of justice, also, has been in greater or less degree farmed out in the past; but who would advocate it now? Our problems with reference to public or private administration of social utilities no longer relate to fiscal or judicial functions. But the same problems in principle confront us in relation to such social utilities as the distribution of oil, water, gas and electricity, and the operation of street-car and railroad systems.

"These social services are practically inseparable from the highways—whether rail highways, pipe highways or wire highways—by means whereof they are rendered. It is therefore impossible, from the nature of the case, for any willing and competent person or persons to perform them in the modern manner without permission from government. The services belong, consequently, in the category not of private but of public utilities; and the question of public or private ownership regarding them raises the issue of farming out public functions for private operation. To farm them out is to do with these public functions what was once done with judicial and fiscal functions. To abolish the prevailing practice regarding any of them, so far from being a step in the direction of establishing government-ownership of private business, is a step in the direction of abolishing private-ownership of government business.

"This step is often denounced as 'socialistic,' a term which has of recent years been substituted for 'communistic,' by objectors who prefer what they regard as offensive epithets to sober argument in discussions of this character. In so far, however, as the term 'socialistic' may be used descriptively instead of epithetically, the difference between such social utilities as are essentially personal and such as are essentially governmental, is doubtless overlooked. In view of this difference, public-ownership of such social utilities as are afforded by street-car, railway, water, oil-pipe, gas and electric systems, is not socialistic. If we governmentalize social utilities regardless of whether they are public or private in their essential character, we do tend toward socialism; but on the other hand, if we turn over to private-ownership and operation such utilities as are governmental as well as those that are personal, we tend toward anarchism. For the fundamental difference between the goal of socialism and the goal of anarchism is this: that socialism would governmentalize all social utilities, whereas anarchism would governmentalize none.

"It is only when we adopt the policy of having government leave private functions to private management and resume public management of public functions, that we tend toward that ideal of American democracy which demands a people's government for the administration of governmental affairs, and leaves every individual in freedom but without governmental privileges regarding his personal affairs."

Justice John Ford on Why Franchise Rights Should be Retained by The People.

Justice John Ford, the able legislator and recently elected Judge on the Supreme Bench of New York, thus thoughtfully points out why franchises should be retained by the people and shows how public-ownership would inevitably purify politics:

"Public-service corporations are those that have charter powers to take property of individuals for public purposes; that is, the right under their charter, which they hold by grant of the people, to condemn private property for public use, thus becoming an arm of the government. And being an arm of the government, there is no question about the right of the public to manage its own affairs, except in the greedy and avaricious

minds of those who exploit the public for private gain.

"That which the shrewd financiers at the head of public-service corporations find of sufficient value to warrant the purchasing of whole legislatures, boards of aldermen, the corrupting and stealing the election of a metropolis, should be worth retaining by the public for the following reasons: the dignity of proprietorship; the reduction of rents and the cost of transportation to wholesome homes in suburban districts; the improvement of the conditions of labor; the limitation of the opportunities for the inordinately rich to become richer, resulting in increased power to corrupt legislatures and demoralize the public and ultimately to so far control the resources and transportation facilities of the country as to bring about conditions similar to those that obtained in France just prior to the French Revolution.

"Excessive charges have always been the result of private monopoly. It was Jefferson's opinion that 'no other depositories of power (than the people themselves) have ever been found which did not end in converting to their own private use, the earnings of those committed to their charge.'

"The excessive charge of public-service corporations is a tax levied upon the public for private purposes, and thus indirectly our public-service corporations exercise the power of taxation without representation, the returns from which would make the sums gathered by the tax-gatherers of Rome pale into insignificance.

"The power to tax belongs only to the government. The people have their remedy at the polls for excessive taxation by the state. They are powerless to correct the extortion of corporations holding grants from the state which authorize them to perform these public functions for private gain. The over-capitalization of public-service corporations amounts to a perpetual tax. By increasing (watering) the capital stock and issuing bonds from time to time, the real earnings based on actual capital invested in the business are never made known to the public. Earnings should be based upon the cost of original construction; or a better basis would be, the cost of duplicating the plant under present conditions. With this basis once established, a fair charge to the public would be whatever it costs to serve the public after paying the legal rate of interest on the investment of capi-

tal and setting aside a reasonable sinking-fund for depreciation and the retirement of the bonded debt.

"All the principal cities of Europe have adopted municipal-ownership wholly or partially, and those that have not already done so are steadily taking over all their municipal utilities.

"Civil service laws have practically eliminated the objection formerly urged against municipal-ownership on the ground that the large body of public employes created would be controlled by the political machine in power and thus become a grave source of danger in the community. The fact now is, whatever might have been the situation under the old open ballot and before civil service laws and rules safeguarded the city from danger from this source, that the franchise-holding corporations are the real promoters of this abuse. They employ and discharge thousands at the mere word of the political boss, and there are no civil service barriers to prevent. I venture to assert that for every public-office holder in this city who is bound to the dominant machine by virtue of the place which he holds, there are a score so bound by virtue of their employment with franchise-holding corporations.

"Municipal-ownership would at once purge the body politic of these malignant growths and do more to purify public life than a generation of reform preaching. But I am firmly persuaded that municipal-ownership would not only elevate politics by stopping up the great sources of political corruption, but that it would be a financial success as well and bring to us all the benefits I have mentioned.

"It is no untried experiment whose sole champions are visionary dreamers or political quacks. It has been in successful operation as to water and docks and recently as to the Staten Island ferries in this city."

William P. Hill, Ph.D., on The Evils of Private-Ownership and The Benefits of Popular Management.

One of the most valuable papers contributed to this symposium is by the well-known economic writer, William P. Hill, Ph.D., of St. Louis. In his argument he shows how the political bosses are created by the private corporations; how the granting of franchises immediately raises up a powerful privileged class whose interests are inimical to those of the people and who shortly become the chief

source of public corruption; while public-ownership removes this cause of corruption. He also cites a number of important examples comparing public-ownership with private-ownership in American cities, and concludes by pointing out that public-ownership is the law of civilization. From this paper we have space only for the following extracts:

"It is notorious that practically all of our larger American cities are each in the control of a political boss, who derives his power from the private corporations which own the public utilities.

"They are the ones who furnish the boss with the money which enables him to carry on his political machine; and the boss can secure employment for his henchmen with his corporation allies as well as get them positions in the political government.

"He can place his creatures on the police force, or make them street-car conductors, or electric linemen, with equal facility.

"He often controls the machinery of both parties, and the Mayor and Aldermen have been chosen by him, and consequently owe him allegiance.

"The corporations deal directly with the boss when anything comes up that requires political action; such as procuring a new franchise, or modifying an old one.

"In fact the boss is simply the legislative agent of the franchise corporations, and attends to the political end of their business.

"Every one who studies this question deeply must eventually reach the conclusion that corruption is inherent and inevitable in the system that attempts to have a public function owned and operated by a few individuals for their own private gain and benefit.

"The moment a franchise monopoly is granted to a privileged few, an evil force is unchained that must, of necessity, end by corrupting the government itself.

"The post-office officials have never tried to bribe the Federal Government, control Congress, Senators, etc., but the telegraph and other monopolies have done so repeatedly, and are still doing so."

And Professor Hill might have added, are doing so to such a degree that the efficient operation of the post-office department is rendered impossible by the powerful and corrupt influence exerted by the express companies and the railway corporations. This has been frequently pointed out. Thus we

find that in England, Germany, Austria and other nations where the private corporations have not been enriched through debauching government, effective and splendid systems of parcels-post have long since been successfully inaugurated. Again, the only handicap the post-office department has suffered from, save the corrupt influence of the express companies, is found in the railways whose baleful influence has for years led to the government submitting to extortions that more than amount to the annual postal deficit, as was recently shown in our book-study of Professor Parsons' late railway work.

Destroy private operation of public utilities and you not only destroy the chief spring of political corruption, but you also render all departments of government more efficient, by removing an influence that is always operating for private enrichment and against the public weal. Mr. Hill well points out:

"That a franchise to private individuals, to operate a public utility, in which all the people are interested, must necessarily come more or less under the regulation, supervision or influence of the city government.

"It is, therefore, liable to be injured by adverse, or benefited by favorable, legislation.

"And the owners of these monopolies form a powerful privileged class that fear what legislators may do, and will, therefore, never rest until they gain complete control over the government.

"Under private-ownership, the true economic interests of the owners of these monopolies is directly antagonistic to the real economic interests of all the people.

"Under public-ownership, however, this antagonism of interests entirely disappears. The people are then the owners of these monopolies, but they are also the patrons who use them, and it is to their interests to give themselves the best service at the lowest cost.

"It seems to me, therefore, that when we abolish the private-ownership of these monopolies, we, at one stroke and immediately, remove the chief cause that has corrupted our governments in the past, and when this source of corruption has been removed, that our governments will be more honest and representative."

Professor Hill next points out some striking examples of the actual results seen in his own city of St. Louis and also in certain other

cities, touching the operation of public utilities in the hands of the people and of private corporations:

"I feel confident that in this conflict of facts, we could show ten times as many examples of successful municipal ownership, as our opponents can cite of failures, even in this country.

"The reason is that the greed and extortions of private franchise monopolies are so unlimited and phenomenal, that it is difficult even for the most corrupt public-ownership to approach their status of iniquity.

"It is notorious that my native city, St. Louis, has had for years, one of the most corrupt governments of any city on this continent.

"When the then Circuit Attorney Folk began his sensational prosecutions, and indicted the criminal politicians, it was found, by actual count, that a full quorum of the city fathers was in the city jail awaiting trial.

"And yet even under this corrupt government the water-works have been owned and operated successfully by the city, and the people have had a better service and cheaper water-rates than a private franchise company would give them.

"We know this by actual experience, because right across the line of the city limits, the water-works are owned by a private franchise company, and they charge the people double what the city charges for the same service.

"Furthermore, the water-rates are 43 per cent. lower in St. Louis than they are in Indianapolis, New Orleans or San Francisco, where private franchise monopolies supply the water. And our water works in St. Louis have yielded the city a surplus in addition to carrying on a vast scheme of extension and improvement.

"Some twenty years ago, St. Louis undertook to sprinkle her streets. Before that, sprinkling was done by private companies. The cost under the private companies was fully five times as great as it has been since, under the city management, and the service was much less complete and satisfactory.

"The city of Tucson, Arizona, once had a private franchise company to supply its water. About ten years ago it adopted municipal-ownership, and its water-rates have been reduced to one-half of what they were with the private company, and the service has been

greatly extended in addition to laying up a surplus and extinguishing the debt contracted in the purchase of the works.

"El Paso, Texas, a city similarly situated, and getting its water-supply the same way, has a private company in control, and its water rates are consequently more than double what they are in Tucson."

In closing his argument Mr. Hill points out how public-ownership is in alignment with the march of civilization:

"I could go on indefinitely in this way, citing example after example and to the same effect. City after city in this country has voted to oust the private companies, and adopt public-ownership, simply because they could no longer tolerate the greed and extortions of the private monopolies. In fact, the sentiment of public-ownership keeps growing everywhere, and getting stronger and stronger, simply because the franchise monopolies everywhere finish by becoming intolerable nuisances, in accordance with their nature. And I predict that this sentiment for public-ownership will never be checked, but will continue to grow, *pari passu* with civilization itself, until it brings all these monopolies into harmonious relations with all the people under public-ownership.

"We must not forget that the whole history of civilization has been one long record of the growth of coöperative effort. The savage in the primeval forest is the only real *simon-pure* individualist, and we have been progressing away from him ever since.

"We must not forget that at one time it was considered impossible for the government to manage even the army and navy, and that these were contracted out to private individuals. It was also considered impossible for the governments to collect their own taxes and revenues, and they let this function out to *farmers-of-the-revenue*.

"Now every government on earth, except those of Turkey and China, performs these functions for itself, and it would be considered barbarous to go back to a privately-managed army and navy and to private *farmers-of-the-revenue*. And so it is with many other activities that have naturally been taken up by civilized governments. If civilization is to keep on growing and to reach still greater heights, this movement must accentuate itself in ever-widening circles, until coöperation shall be the key-note of man's relations to his fellow-man."

AN ENGLISH LABOR-LEADER ON THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

Mr. George Lansbury's Appeal to The Church on Behalf of The Out-of-Works.

A TYPEWRITTEN copy of the recent address delivered before the Church Congress at Barrow-in-Furness, England, by Mr. George Lansbury, has just been sent us by a valued correspondent in London who believes that some of the things emphasized by this well-known labor-leader and efficient worker in behalf of the poor and the unemployed would be interesting to social reformers in America. The address as a whole is clear, temperate, thoughtful and instinct with the vital conscience-force that marks the difference between the humanitarian and the money-grubber.

It is a very hopeful sign that the English Church is at last taking sufficient interest in the great social problems of the hour to invite one of the strongest and ablest labor-leaders to address it. The Church, if true to its Founder's life and teachings, would to-day be a leader and not a camp-follower in the cause of social righteousness. Unhappily it too often takes the ancient Pharisees of Christ's time as a model when it is called to choose between manhood and the dollar-worshippers. But in spite of the attempt of the Rockefellers, the Rogerses, the Archbolds, and the princes of privilege in general to buy the silence of the churches and the colleges, we believe we are approaching the hour when the nobler element of the clergy will take a brave stand for humanity, for the rights of the people and for the principles of free government; and when they do this, the doom of the hypocritical and soulless feudalism of privileged wealth that is exploiting and plundering the people will be sealed.

The Present Status of The Problem of The Unemployed.

Mr. Lansbury in his address shows that in good times in England to-day there are always between three and four hundred thousand people unable to secure employment; while in dull periods this army is increased to from five to six hundred thousand. Nor must we allow ourselves to be deceived by the old

sophistical cry that the individual man or woman is responsible for the inability to secure employment. Of course there are instances where such is the case, but this is not the rule. Present economic conditions, with the steady encroachment of machines, are responsible for the growing army of those who become worthless to society as flotsam and jetsam, a burden to themselves and in the long run a grave and sinister menace to the nation and the civilization of to-morrow. The appalling conditions that are at last alarming the gravest statesmen and best thinkers arise primarily from the subordination of moral idealism or ethical principles to the greed for gold. Profits have been exalted and manhood has been cast down.

"In our day," says Mr. Lansbury, "men and women find it more and more difficult to obtain really steady regular work; more and more industry becomes a question of profit, and more and more it is recognized that the greatest captain of industry is the one who can turn out most goods with the least human labor. In factory and warehouse, in office and shop, wherever trade and commerce are carried on, the spirit of the Manchester school reigns supreme, *viz.*, produce cheaply at whatever cost, even if your mill or workshop is run entirely by machinery. The man who would succeed in business to-day must so organize things that his wages bill is reduced to a minimum. Old and tried servants must be parted with, if a machine will do the work better; skilled workpeople, whose parents have scraped together enough money to enable them to learn a trade, must find their skill of no avail if a clever inventor succeeds in perfecting a machine to do the work better.

"Have you seen boots manufactured on the team system, with men, women, and children as tenders, a piece of leather at one end becoming a boot at the other end, all the machinery automatic? . . . All production is Social, that is, we are all part of a huge system for turning out goods of various descriptions and our ability to turn out such goods was

never so great as to-day and yet this curious thing happens that when our warehouses are full, then is the time people are most hungry. Just think, in London at the present moment the cry is that we have overbuilt, and have too many houses, and yet families are living in one room by the thousand. Why is this? It is simply because we have built houses, not to live in, but for profit only. In fact products are produced not to use, but to sell for profit, and our insane commercial system sets everyone to work to turn out goods at the quickest rate possible without any regard to whether they are needed or not and this results in what are known as 'gluts.'

Thus amid a plethora of goods the people go ragged and hungry, and "the very people who have produced the goods stored in warehouses are thrown onto the streets to starve or beg. The case of the shoemakers will prove my point. In that town an entire change in the method of producing boots came into vogue and hundreds of men were displaced and not needed. Many of these tramped to London to appeal for work and were obliged to get boots by the aid of Charity, and yet they were out of work because boots could be produced more cheaply under the new system than the old. If I have made myself clear, you will see that it is not a question of a man's fitness or unfitness which pushes him out of work, but simply hard economic conditions which he cannot control. It is of course true that the least capable, mentally, morally, or physically, get squeezed out first; this, however, does not mean that their disability is the cause for they would be out in any case. And one of the very worst features of modern life is that thousands of decent self-respecting men and women are put off and slowly but surely sink down to the ranks of the so-called unfit.

"I would also call special attention to the case of women. Just imagine the kinds of lives we doom women who work as matchboxmakers, ropemakers, tailoresses, shirtmakers and all the whole crowd of sweated industries. Can you wonder that many girls, and many women, too, are to be found on our streets? and I know from actual experience that many factories in London to-day are employing women and young girls casually in just as vile a manner from the point-of-view of casual labor as men are at the Docks; that

is to say, they are taken on sometimes for a few hours only in the course of a week and dropped just as you would a tool. This arises, not merely because the employer is hard-hearted, or the manager of the factory is a brute, but because his business in life, and his only business in life, is to run his factory either at a profit for himself or for his shareholders. I, at any rate, desire that we should realize that these people are degraded and poor, are out of employment and not wanted simply because if they were employed, dividends and profits would suffer."

Whenever the capitalistic class finds that the profits are dwindling, they throw on the street, so to speak, a large number of their human tools; or whenever the inventor produces a machine which potentially might bless society by shortening the hours of labor and giving the toilers a chance to develop the best in them and enjoy life, under the present order it proves a curse to the workers because it displaces many laborers and swells the army of the out-of-works. Moreover, the machine is often a double curse: it displaces men because women or tender children can operate it as well as men, and women and children can be hired for lower wages. Thus the home is robbed of the wife and mother or the child is robbed of its rightful heritage and instead of being permitted to grow naturally and to obtain an education, it is turned into a machine and its future life is blighted.

"It is well," says Mr. Lansbury, "that we should consider the kind of occupations to which so many children are doomed. I once saw a bright, intelligent girl minding a machine in a chocolate factory; the machine she tended made chocolate pigs, and her sole duty was to stand ten hours a day shifting the pigs, the machine finished on to a tray at her side. As I looked at her I ceased to wonder why so many women and men lack initiative and why so many are to be found in the ranks of the unemployable."

The labor-leader next appeals to the conscience of the church and society. "If," he says, "it is true that men and women are out of work because of conditions they cannot, as individuals, control, it is obvious that we must consider some means by which society may help."

Mr. Lansbury's Failure to Point Out Some of The Most Fundamental Remedies.

We do not quite agree with Mr. Lansbury when he comes to remedies, as it seems to us he does not strike at the great fundamental evils that must be righted before the present economic and social anarchy that is sapping national life and debauching manhood can be supplanted by a juster and more civilized economic order. The state organization of industry as suggested may come, but before that, if the improved social conditions are to be firmly rooted and grounded in justice, it seems to us that certain basic ethical demands must be met. Such great fundamental principles as have been luminously enunciated by Henry George, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace and other illustrious social philosophers do not seem to have appealed to Mr. Lansbury as compellingly as the measures he mentions. True, he strikes in the direction of the true trail when he calls for measures for the reclamation of waste-land, and the home colony experiment he describes is a splendid partial measure to help meet the immediate conditions. But so long as society refuses to recognize that the land as well as the air and the water is the common gift of the common Father to His common children, and therefore that it should be taxed for its rental value; so long as society allows the great public utilities to be monopolized by greed-crazed corporations that fatten off of the people, acquiring hundreds of millions of dollars annually that should go to the fund for the common good; so long as government shows favors to rich and powerful classes, granting privileges that destroy equality of opportunities and of rights; so long as the church, society and government accept the prosperity cry of the exploiting and predatory classes as of more concern to the nation and civilization than the welfare of the men, women and children in the ranks of the toilers, present conditions will not materially improve. Indeed, the materialism of the market and the sordid spirit of the day will steadily poison life's spiritual energies on all planes of being.

The English Labor Leader on The Way Out of The Social Quagmire.

Mr. Lansbury briefly touches on what he conceives to be the great solution of the problem, but he deems it wisest only to briefly touch on that point and most of his observa-

tions are confined to the consideration of palliative measures for meeting the present appalling conditions—measures that will tend to restore the unfortunate to the high estate from which they have been pressed downward, restore them to the plane of self-respecting manhood. Of his views on the real solution he says:

"I am convinced that the only true solution is to be found in the State Organization of industry on such lines as will organize production for use instead of for profit. I do not propose to enter into a defense of that proposition now except to say that after giving the question the best thought I can, it appears to me quite impossible to find a real remedy other than this, and, as a means towards this end, I would at once fix a minimum wage and a maximum number of hours which people should work, and, in this connection, would point out that we have one set of people at present working too hard and another set not being allowed to work at all. This cannot be dealt with in any other way but by Parliament, and would, I am certain, lead to the removal of many of the dreadful evils which the sweating exhibition exposed. I would also at once abolish all half-time work for children, raise the age limit for the employment of children to sixteen and compel all employers of young people to make provision that their work should be such as would lead to a permanent occupation as they reached years of maturity. I would also give powers to County Councils to buy estates to break up into small holdings and so stop the influx of men to the towns. There are many other methods which Parliament could invoke for dealing with private employers, and all of which would lead on to my ultimate solution."

Palliative Measures for The Out-of-Works.

Passing to a consideration of plans for relieving the condition of the army of starving men that have been driven to the brink of the precipice under modern conditions, Mr. Lansbury says:

"As to what we should do with the man who is out of work to-day, let me at once say that I believe the first and the last thing to do is to find him useful work and the only test which should be established should be the willingness and ability of the person concerned to do the work. I am not wanting to find soft jobs for the out-of-works; neither am I want-

ing to put them to useless jobs which benefit no one. What is needed first of all is the creation of a public department which should have handed to it the whole of the questions which affect the workers, especially the unemployed. Such a department should be called the Public Works and Labor Department, and its duty in relation to the unemployed should be the organization and control of works of public utility such as reforestation, the reclamation of foreshores, the construction and leveling of great public highways, the clearing away of slum areas, the provision of swimming baths, open-air or covered, in all crowded districts, and last, but by no means least, Home Colonization.

"I think the money for such works should be found by the State, and this would of course involve State control; this can be best secured by the State itself in its own way organizing and controlling the whole work. As to the works themselves, anyone who has thought about the question knows that there are many thousands of acres of land in England and Scotland which could be brought into use by afforestation. All of us who are at all acquainted with our river and sea coasts, know the damage which is done yearly by the encroachment of river and sea. And there appears no good reason why the nation should not undertake this work. Our main roads, are quite inadequate for the traffic of motors and team wagons. We know, too, the dangerous gradients which abound in every county are a great danger. It should be possible to arrange for these kind of works to be carried through by the labor which cries in the market-place for work. With regard to Home Colonization, I regard this as the most important work of all. I view with a good deal of misgiving the exodus from the country to the towns. Although born in the country, I have lived in London practically all my life, and, when I go about amongst the people, what strikes me is the physical weakness which appears to be growing in our midst, and therefore some means must be found for getting people out of the towns into the country."

A Most Interesting Home Colonization Experiment.

One of the most interesting portions of the speaker's address is devoted to a description of the Home Colony at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk. This colony was established about two years

ago in accordance with Mr Walter Long's plan for aiding the unemployed.

"It consists of 1,200 acres of heath, pasture, marsh, and arable land. It was formerly an agricultural college for middle-class young men and has accommodation for 350 men in the college buildings. The colony has a two-fold object. It temporarily relieves men who are only temporarily out of work, and these men have been engaged doing the necessary estate work, such as double digging the heath and waste-land to bring it back into cultivation. Others have been taught dairying and other farming operations and have emigrated. Others have been learning market-gardening and horticulture with a view to settling on small holdings in England. For these latter the scheme is as follows: The man first of all goes down as an ordinary colonist; after a short period, if he shows aptitude and eagerness to take up country work, he is put to such work, and, after a further period, if still satisfactory, he is placed on a selected list and, as soon as possible his wife and family join him in a cottage on the estate; after a further short period, it is hoped we may be able to put him on a small holding, quite as an independent person paying rent; this last step is, however, dependent on our being able to secure another estate. It is not proposed to dump these men down on a piece of land and leave them to worry through it, but instead we propose to organize the purchase of seed and tools, the collection and distribution of produce so as to ensure that this part of the business is thoroughly well done. Some may ask will the unemployed respond to such work as this without hesitation. I reply that they will and I am certain that if we had had command of sufficient capital at the start, we would long ago have established one hundred families. Even as it is through the generous help of Mr. Joseph Fels, who not only lent us the estate, but also lent us £2,000 to start our cottages, twelve London men are in residence and this autumn they will be planting and planning out their holdings, and this number, as I say, is only limited through lack of funds. I am hoping that such an experiment as this will receive its due share of the £200,000 which the Government has granted for the unemployed. I think the London Committee has earned the right to this money, for without experience, it determined to try a labor-colony on new lines and, so far as funds have allowed it, has abundantly

demonstrated that London men are able and willing to learn country work and many of them are quite eager to settle here in England rather than starve in London or emigrate. I do not claim that this will be a cheap method for dealing with the unemployed. I do claim though that it is an effective method and one which, if adopted, would at least lift permanently out of the ranks of the workless some few of those who are being squeezed out day by day, and we must remember that no sound treatment of this question can be cheap."

Mr. Lansbury explains that he has dwelt on the Hollesley Bay experiment because he has had it under his personal supervision from the start and so is competent to speak on the question, and because he feels that the problem of getting the out-of-works in London out onto the land is one of the most vital questions of the time.

"When," he says, "I think of this England of ours, and of the many thousands of acres of land untilled, when I remember that we have crown-lands lying waste and remember, too, that in London people are dying under our very eyes because of want of work, I cannot help asking why idle land and workless men cannot be brought together in the way suggested."

A Heart to Heart Appeal to Christians.

The address is concluded with an earnest word to the conscience of those who wish to follow in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene:

"To me the call of these people, the out-cast and the lonely, comes every day with ever insistent force. People talk of our religion. What is it to the masses that you and I speak of them as our Brothers and Sisters and leave them to live out their wretched lives as best they can? We talk to people of the Savior

who went about doing good. I wonder what He would be saying about the unemployed if He lived on earth again. We know that in His day the common people heard Him gladly and we know that to-day the common people in the mass care nothing for us or for our message. Why is all this? Christ's message to us all is the same as of yore—Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul and with all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself. This do and thou shalt live. And again: He would gain his life must lose it. What does all this mean to you and me? How much are we concerned about our fellows? How much of our time and our energy are we giving to the service of men and thus to our God? I am not pleading for your money, I am asking for you. What is needed to-day is personal service more than anything else. Let you and me determine that so far as we are able, we will do our best to press this question through till it is settled once and for all. We can get huge demonstrations over the Education Bill and Foreign Missions. Why it is that so few of us are to be found worrying about the social condition of the people I do not know, unless it is we are wilfully blinding ourselves as to the true position of affairs. Sabatier said somewhere: 'Where will the Church of Christ be to-morrow?' and he answered the question by saying that one thing was certain, 'She would be found on the side of the oppressed and the downtrodden.' If she is to live in England, I am certain this must be so, and we churchmen must remember creeds and words will not feed the hungry or clothe the naked, but that you and I must

"Worship God by doing good,
Deeds not words are understood,
Kind deeds done to one another
Unto God are done my brother
Unto Him."

HOW MEXICO RECENTLY BROKE THE POWER OF A BEEF COMBINE.

IN THE Commonwealth of New Zealand and the Republic of Mexico where the interest, prosperity and happiness of all the people are as much the first concern of the government as is the interest of the public-service corporations, the trusts and monop-

lies the first concern of our national Senate and House of Representatives, the governments do not tolerate any attempt to rob the many in order to make richer a few already dangerously rich men.

We recently pointed out the way the gov-

ernment of Mexico had destroyed the power of the corn-combine and saved the people from almost as great suffering, robbery and loss of life as our people suffered by reason of the action of the great morally criminal coal-trust and railway corporations during the last anthracite coal strike. Now we wish to call attention to another recent act on the part of the government of Mexico by which an incipient trust or combine in the meat trade was promptly crushed by the government's vigilance in the interests of all the people. We are indebted to our special correspondent, Mr. F. E. Plummer of the City of Mexico for the following facts which are of peculiar interest at the present time when the privileged classes are spending vast amounts of money to check the rising tide of public indignation against the extortions of the public-service corporations, trusts and combines, as they afford another of those clear-cut illustrations of how the people's servants can serve the people when they have not already accepted service from class interests or are not beholden to political machines owned by privileged

interests. In his communication Mr. Plummer thus describes the effective action of the Mexican authorities:

"Some two months ago a combination was formed here to put up the price of meat, and as a result meat was soon selling at a price which placed it beyond the reach of all except those with fat purses. That state of affairs did n't last more than two weeks before the government had a meat-stall of its own in the market selling meat at a just price, and the meat-combine went the way of the corn-combine of a few years ago, and of every other combine that has been formed in Mexico in recent years to run up the price of food stuffs.

"No doubt you are aware of the fact that the Mexican Government has just acquired a controlling interest in the Mexican Central Railroad which renders it absolute master of the railroad situation in the republic. Just two days before this deal was announced, the Minister of Finance asked Congress for authority to reduce taxes."

UNSPARING CONDEMNATION BY SUPREME COURT JUSTICES OF THE ATTEMPT TO PREPARE THE WAY FOR OFFICIAL USURPATION OF UNCONSTITUTIONAL POWER.

SUPREME Justices Brewer and Harlan have recently strongly seconded Justice Brown in opposing the dangerous and, to democratic government, destructive doctrine being insidiously advanced by certain present-day politicians, ostensibly speaking in the interests of the people but in reality seeking to further, through the establishment of an autocratic government at Washington, a condition by which a Root, a Fairbanks, a Taft, a Cortelyou, a Bailey or any other politician beholden to privileged interests who might be elected to the Presidency could quickly and effectively further bulwark the advancing and sinister power of the Wall-street gamblers and the princes of privilege in general.

There is one fact that no thoughtful American should lose sight of, and that is that the most dangerous rulers or popular servants of the past have frequently been popular monarchs or officers and oftentimes men who were

actuated by high and laudable motives, but who have established dangerous precedents that could only have been set by men who were popular or regarded as good. But these precedents once established have always been later employed in behalf of despotism and oppression by men who were unscrupulous or the willing tools of ambitious, avaricious or interested classes. Any autocratic assumption of power or any attempt by one of the three departments of government to usurp powers properly delegated and properly belonging to either of the other departments, no matter for what purpose the usurpation should be made, ought to be strongly opposed by all true friends of good government and free institutions, because it is only by rendering impossible unconstitutional usurpation of power or irresponsible acts of officials that the vital principles of democracy can be maintained and the government preserved to the

people. One department or another may at times come under the power of privileged interests, but once arouse the public conscience, and the wrong will inevitably be righted, so long as the government is securely held in the hands of the people and no unconstitutional arrogation of power is tolerated.

Free institutions depend upon two things: first, the recognition of the people as the real masters and of the officials merely as their servants, subject to their direction or instructions; and, secondly, the faithful observance of the provisions made for the orderly carrying out of the demands of popular government as provided by the people. The Constitution, it is true, needs revision to meet the changed conditions of the present time, but that revision must be made by the people and not by executive officials who would usurp constitution-making and law-making power or judicial interpretation of law. Until the people in their wisdom revise the Constitution and bring it down to date, that instrument must be adhered to by all friends of free institutions. Any attempt by executive officers to usurp the power of the judicial or legislative departments of government, or any attempt on the part of the judiciary to arrogate to themselves rights that should belong only to juries or to the legislative and executive departments of government, should be strenuously opposed by all true democrats.

Justice Brown made an excellent point in answering Secretary Root when he gravely pointed out the danger of removing the government too far from the people. The hope of good government in a free state depends on keeping the people at all times in intimate touch with their government.

In his address delivered at New Rochelle, New York, on December 16th, Justice Brewer complemented Justice Brown's admirable answer to Secretary Root and paid his compliments to the shallow, upstart politicians of the present who are busily engaged in attempts to discredit Washington and the Constitution, in the same manner that the imperialists and the upholders of the feudalism of privileged interests have during recent years striven to discredit the Declaration of Independence. On these points Justice Brewer said:

"There is a patronizing new way of looking at George Washington. This tendency is to say that the Father of his Country did very well as Commander-in-Chief of a very small army; did tolerably well as the Chief of State of a very small and struggling new republic. They say that if George Washington were alive to-day, he would not be able to cope with the demands upon his statesmanship. They would speak of him, in the Western phrase, as 'a back number,' a man not up to the requirements of the present day.

"Just so there are some persons who look upon the Constitution of the United States as something useful in the past, like the Code of Hammurabai—a sort of a back number, for which the cemetery of past things is yawning.

"But I believe that the Constitution of the United States was never intended to become a mere cemetery ornament. I believe that it is a living wall, erected by statesmen against the ever-encroaching greed of power to preserve the liberties of the individual. And I am one of those who still believe in George Washington."

On December 25th, Justice Harlan of the Supreme Bench thus expressed his views on the attempt of the friends of autocratic government to prepare the way for official usurpation of powers not entertained by the Constitution and which would take from the States their rightful authority:

"I served in the Civil war as colonel, and have been on the bench twenty-nine years the tenth day of this month. I can say now what I have said in many judicial decisions, and such has been the uniform doctrine of our court, that the Federal Government has no powers except those delegated to it by express grant, or by necessary implication from express grants.

"I think the Federal Government has all the powers it need have for the purpose of accomplishing the objects for which the Government was established and that any tendency to enlarge its powers by loose construction of the words of the Constitution ought to be restricted.

"I think the preservation of the States with all their just powers is essential to the preservation of our liberties."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AS A DISCIPLE OF MR. BRYAN.

MR. BRYAN'S *Commoner* recently placed the editors of a number of Republican papers in a very embarrassing position. These journalists had savagely attacked Mr. Bryan's Madison Square speech, dwelling at length in many instances upon the very things which Mr. Roosevelt has strongly advocated in his message. Yet these same editors were as enthusiastic in their praise of Mr. Roosevelt's message as they had been bitter in their comments on Mr. Bryan when he advanced similar ideas. To show the essential insincerity and inconsistency of their position, *The Commoner* published a number of quotations from President Roosevelt's message and in each instance these paragraphs were followed by the utterances bearing on the same subject taken from Mr. Bryan's Madison Square address. Among these were "Enforcing the Criminal Clause," "Government by Injunction," "The Eight-Hour Law," "Arbitration in Labor Disputes," "Income Tax," "Campaign Contributions," and "Federal License for Corporations."

The placing of the recommendations by President Roosevelt in juxtaposition to Mr. Bryan's clear utterances in the Madison Square address—and for that matter, the demands he has advanced for years—shows in a most startling manner how faithfully on most subjects Mr. Roosevelt has accepted Mr. Bryan's teachings and the demands of the radical wing of the Democratic party since 1896, which the Republican party

has been so hysterically denouncing for the past ten years.

The publication in *The Commoner* of the incorporation in the President's message of so many of the demands which the radical Democracy under Mr. Bryan's lead has for years insisted upon, and which have been so frantically opposed by the Republican press, shows conclusively that the excellent cartoon published some time ago, which represented President Roosevelt as carefully stepping in Mr. Bryan's footsteps, and the one published in the *New York World*, which represented him as appropriating the great Nebraskan's clothing, are even more apt to-day than when they were first published.

This does not mean, however, that Mr. Roosevelt's message is more than partially democratic in character. His advocacy of the infamous ship-subsidy steal, the manner in which he holds the idea that physical power is more to be depended upon by a Christian nation than moral idealism, and many other reactionary sentiments in the message, especially when taken into consideration with his many acts and the fact that he surrounds himself so largely by the erstwhile tools of plutocracy, indicate that while he realizes the growing popular demand for certain great and radical progressive steps, he also desires to keep in favor with the plutocratic and reactionary elements that are antagonizing the interests of the people and the demands of progressive democracy.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON.

Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

The Next Congress.

IN THE recent election every candidate for Congress who could be reached was questioned by the National Federation for People's Rule on his attitude upon the Advisory Initiative as applied to certain issues

in national affairs and the Advisory Referendum. These questions were published in the October *ARENA*. One hundred and seven of the candidates who had replied favorably were elected. The next Congress therefore will contain 107 members (and probably 5 more from Oklahoma) pledged to favor a

direct vote of the entire nation upon questions of (1) interstate commerce; (2) civil service; (3) immigration; (4) the injunction power; (5) eight-hour day; (6) constitutional amendment for initiative and referendum; (7) election of United States senators by the people; (8) election of fourth-class postmasters by patrons of each office.

A full list of the pledged Congressmen is published in the *Referendum News* for November. Of the 107, 72 are Democrats and 35 are Republicans. In 35 districts both the leading candidates were pledged. One hundred and thirty-four pledged Republican and Democratic candidates failed of election. In South Dakota, where the people have a form of the initiative and referendum system in state and municipal affairs, all the nominees pledged for it. In Wisconsin, of the twenty-four Republican and Democratic nominees, only four refused to pledge, and of these two were defeated. In Missouri all of the sixteen Democratic nominees pledged and five of the Republicans. Of the eleven Republicans who refused only three were elected. In Oregon and in Maine, where both parties are pledged to Direct-Legislation, the Congressmen had already been elected, and are not included in the above figures.

This is certainly a most encouraging beginning with the National House of Representatives. It represents a four-fold gain over the last House, and clearly indicates the possibility of a large majority for the initiative and referendum in the Congress that will be elected with the next president.

Montana Constitution Amended.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL amendment submitted by the legislature of Montana to a referendum vote of the people and which establishes the initiative and referendum in the organic law of that state, was adopted by a vote of 36,374 to 6,616, giving a clear majority of 29,758 on the side of the people's rule. Those who did not vote on the amendment, pro or con, were 13,207. If all these were counted against the amendment, which of course is quite preposterous, there would still be a majority of 16,537 in favor. This speaks well, and very well, for Montana. It has been a long, hard fight. Five consecutive legislatures have turned the question down, refusing to submit it to the people, and the credit for finally forcing its submission from

a reluctant legislature is chiefly due to the activity of the State Federation of Labor and the Heinz Anti-trust Convention. Prior to the election of the legislature of two years ago, the executive council of the State Federation of Labor issued a circular letter to each of the central and local unions in the state requesting them at once to appoint two committees, one to call upon the legislative candidates and request them to pledge that if elected they would vote to submit a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum, the other committee to circulate for signatures among the electors an agreement to vote only for such candidates as should pledge to vote for a restoration of majority-rule. After election day, petitions to the legislature were printed and circulated throughout the state, and during the session, when the initiative and referendum amendment was up for consideration, seven to fifteen petitions were read daily. This was continued twenty days and the house passed the bill, but the senate refused it the necessary two-thirds vote; but this so aroused the voters of the state that in the next campaign the political leaders vied with each other in declaring for the initiative and referendum, the state conventions of both the leading parties declared for the measure, and the next legislature submitted it.

During the recent campaign the State Federation circulated 50,000 circulars among the voters of the state in support of the amendment.

We have but fragmentary information as to the specific provisions of the amendment but understand it to be modeled after the Oregon amendment, the main features of which are provisions that five per cent. of the voters can cause to be referred to a vote of the people any law passed by the legislature, and eight per cent. of the voters can propose a measure and have it put to a direct vote of the people. Three serious limitations however have been added to the Montana amendment. The first is that no measure can be proposed by the voters to amend the constitution or local or special laws, the second requires that every state initiative must receive the required percentage of signatures in two-fifths of the counties, and the third makes the unusually large requirement of fifteen per cent. to secure a state referendum.

As Mr. George H. Shibley points out, this "doctoring" of the system is only what must be expected when the framing of the measures

is left to the legislatures. The measure, as he suggests, should be framed by its friends in a non-partisan convention called for the purpose, and the legislature should be pledged to the measure before election.

Success in Minnesota.

THROUGH the activities of the Minnesota Initiative and Referendum League which was organized last August, enough members of the new legislature were pledged to insure, it is hoped, the passage of a law installing the Advisory Initiative and Advisory Referendum. Out of thirty-two candidates who were elected to the legislature from Minneapolis district all are pledged to the submission of a constitutional amendment for the Initiative and Referendum, as well as for the passage of the advisory system.

A batch of eleven charter amendments was submitted to the voters of Minneapolis at the last general election and three-fourths of the voters expressed judgment upon them. Nearly twenty-five thousand voters cast ballots. The highest affirmative vote cast for any proposed amendment was 14,765; the lowest 10,099. The largest negative vote was 7,526 and the lowest 3,372. "When we consider that about one-half of the qualified voters never vote," says the *Minneapolis Dispatch*, "taking the state at large, and that a fourth of them never do even in our cities, it is distinctly encouraging that three-fourths of those who voted marked the charter amendment ballots with either a yes or a nay mark."

Massachusetts Referendum League.

AT THE last annual meeting of the Massachusetts Referendum League, the following officers were elected: Henry Sterling, president; Ralph Albertson, secretary; Frank Parsons, treasurer. The league is now circulating chiefly among members of labor unions the following non-partisan pledge, which is to be kept on file in the local organizations, these to be notified by the state league of the attitude of each of the candidates:

"We, the undersigned, hereby pledge ourselves to vote against every legislator who opposes the right of the people to govern themselves by Direct-Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum.

"We believe that the American govern-

ment ought to be in the hands of the whole American people, and not in the hands of lobbies, monopolists, and corrupt politicians.

"We believe that the public verdict on each policy and each question, separated and free from every other issue, is essential for the preservation of self-government.

"Therefore, to secure to all an equal voice and equal power in this government of the people, by the people, for the people,

"We solemnly pledge ourselves to seek first and to hold superior to all other issues (for by it all other issues must be determined) the *Initiative and Referendum*, that is, the power of the citizens to vote direct at the polls on any public question which by petition of five per cent. of the voters is submitted on the ballot for their verdict; to veto and enact legislation at the ballot-box."

Nebraska Cities.

THERE is a strong movement in Omaha to secure the application of the Initiative and Referendum to local affairs. Under a law adopted by the legislature in 1897 the cities of the state can establish a prescribed system of the Initiative and Referendum if the question of its establishment is submitted to the people by the city council, and adopted by a favorable Referendum vote. This has been vigorously demanded in Omaha by the Federation of Improvement Clubs and the Central Labor Union. The city council, after backing and filling and luffing and jibing, was finally forced to submit the question to a referendum vote at the last election. The vote was 6,373 for the system, and 1,337 against it.

The city of Blair held a special election on the same question late in November, and the measure was defeated by the liquor interests by a majority of 83 votes.

North Platte and several of the smaller cities adopted the Initiative and Referendum system several years ago.

The Omaha Board of Education has submitted to a referendum vote of the parents of the pupils affected, the question of commencing the session of the High School at eight o'clock in the morning.

A movement is on foot to secure the submission of a referendum on the question of the referendum in local affairs to the voters of Lincoln at the spring election. It is actively supported by several councilmen, college pro-

feasons, business men, ministers, and attorneys, as well as by the labor unions.

Grand Rapids Referendum.

LAST April the city council of Grand Rapids passed an ordinance closing theaters on Sunday. Through the optional referendum this was brought up for a vote of the people in November, 6,281 voting to sustain the closing ordinance and 6,895 voting against it. At the same election a charter amendment, submitted under the advisory initiative, to secure a system of non-partisan municipal elections, was carried by a vote of 8,865 to 3,350. "The total vote on the theater ordinance," says Jesse F. Orton in *The Public*, "was more than the total vote on governor, and the vote on the charter amendment was nearly equal to that on governor. The theater ordinance was very hotly contested on both sides, and helped greatly in bringing out a large vote. There was practically no contest on offices either in the state or local election, everything being conceded to the Republicans. In fact there were no Democratic nominees for county offices, with one exception, and no Democratic nomination for Congress. So there was little to attract the attention of voters except these propositions. The non-partisan amendment received a majority in every precinct of the city. Before it becomes effective, however, it must be passed by the legislature. It will be sent to the legislature with the official request of the city of Grand Rapids that it be made part of the charter. The two state senators from Grand Rapids are pledged in writing to do all in their power to put this amendment through early in the session so that the non-partisan method can be used at the city elections next April. Of the three representatives from Grand Rapids, one is pledged in writing to do as the majority of the people desire; another is pledged orally to vote for the amendment if carried; and the third dodged the issue and merely said he would represent "all the people."

Miscellaneous Items.

GOVERNOR STOKES of New Jersey has declared in favor of a state referendum vote on the excise question.

THE REFERENDUM vote taken by the city of Paterson, N. J., upon the question of mu-

nicipal-ownership of water and light, resulted in a decisive victory for municipalization. The vote for the water-plant was 8,040 for, to 1,234 against, and for the lighting-plant 7,140 for, to 1,766 against. The police-pension plan was carried by a vote of 5,602 for, to 4,202 against.

THE REFERENDUM vote taken by the towns and cities of Massachusetts directly affected on the new Brockton canal proposition resulted in an overwhelming majority favoring the project, and work will soon begin, it is expected, upon this great internal improvement which the people have indorsed. The entire plan must be approved by the Harbor and Land Commissioners before actual digging can be begun, and the work will take about seven years to complete. At mean high tide the canal must be twenty-five feet deep, 120 feet wide at the bottom and 200 feet at the top. It will give direct water-communication between Boston and New York, saving 150 miles in distance and making the dangerous trip around Cape Cod unnecessary in winter, besides providing direct water transportation for fourteen cities on its route.

THE CENTRAL Trades and Labor Assembly of Syracuse has appointed a committee to devise ways and means to secure a referendum vote on the question of municipal gas and electricity.

THE CITIZENS of Portland, Maine, voted on December 3d in favor of a public water-works.

THE QUESTION of establishing a municipal electric-light plant was submitted to a referendum vote of the citizens of Fort Wayne, Indiana, at the November election. Nearly every qualified voter voted on the question, the total referendum vote being nearly 100 more than the total Democratic and Republican vote in the city for secretary of state, the office at the head of the ticket. It amounted to 11,171; and of this aggregate 8,996 voted for municipalization and only 2,175 against it.

WINNETKA, Illinois, well-known as the home of the "Winnetka Plan," voted to instal a municipal gas-plant at the last election, and took steps to finance the project.

THE MUNICIPAL League of Wichita, Kan-

sas, is fighting for referendum control of all public franchises. This fight has to be made at Topeka, as it is state legislation that is desired.

TO PROTECT our noble Niagara Falls from commercialism, Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, proposes that before there is any further alienation to power-producing monopolies there shall be a national referendum vote.

THE NEW city charter of Newport, Rhode Island, provides that every vote of the council involving an appropriation of \$10,000 or over, shall be tested by a popular referendum, if within seven days of the council's action such a referendum is requested by 100 voters at large and ten voters from each ward. The charter attempts also to eliminate party politics from municipal affairs.

WE ARE pleased to learn that ex-United States Senator Call of Florida is in the running again. Senator Call is one of the most ardent friends of the initiative and referendum in this country.

BOSTON took a referendum vote December 11th, on the question of permitting hotel-bars to extend their time of doing business from eleven to twelve o'clock at night. A large majority voted in favor of the extension of time. On the same day the city of Lowell had a referendum on the question of pensioning disabled firemen. New Bedford voted on a street-sprinkling proposition and a hospital scheme which had been referred to the voters by the council. The voters of Chicopee passed judgment on the question of setting aside property for park purposes.

THE VOTERS of Jersey City passed upon three propositions at the last election,—one relating to the extension of the park system and two relating to police and fire salaries.

HALF a dozen or more amendments to the constitution were submitted to the voters of Louisiana at the recent election and adopted. Much criticism has come from the captious on the score that the vote was small, but no one has denied that it was larger and more representative than its alternative—the votes of a few legislators.

A PROPOSITION to amend the constitution of Indiana so as to restrict the practice of law to the legal profession failed of adoption by the referendum vote at the last election.

AN AMENDMENT to the constitution of Illinois, authorizing the sale of the Illinois and Michigan canal to the highest bidder also failed of adoption at the recent election.

ONLY twenty per cent. of the voters of Colorado voted upon a proposed constitutional amendment in November, and the plutocratic papers are making much noise about the difference, incapacity, and ignorance of voters and the "failure of the referendum." It looks to us like the failure of the amendment. An amendment in Nebraska at the same election received almost a unanimous vote, nearly every elector voting on the subject. It is not uncommon, however, for a referendum to poll only seventy-five per cent. of the vote, and this but shows that those who are really ignorant and indifferent are automatically disfranchised, the vote representing the intelligence and public spirit of the community.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE NEW WORLD.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

Maynard, Massachusetts.

IT IS doubtful whether in England itself a proportionately more prosperous co-operative company can be found, all things

considered, than the Riverside Coöperative Association of this manufacturing town of less than 10,000 inhabitants. The Association owns its own store, the best in the town, which has a fine big "Coöperative Hall" up

stairs, and other real estate, valued altogether at \$11,000. The paid-up share capital is \$14,235. About \$8,000 worth of stock is carried, and the annual business amounts to over \$75,000. Interest is paid on capital and dividends on purchases. The Association is twenty-seven years old, and under the able and efficient management of Mr. J. J. Hilferty did the largest business in its history during the past year. The last six months' report shows sales of \$38,230, rentals of \$835; paid to sinking-fund, \$300; depreciation, \$216; and dividends to members, \$2,970. The semi-annual stockholders' meetings are made times of sociability, at which refreshments are served, as well as business occasions at which officers are elected and reports received.

American Society of Equity.

The Michigan mint-growers of this coöperative society have adopted the programme of the society that was at first applied to wheat and combined to raise the price of their product. Before the beginning of their campaign, peppermint-oil was 80 cents a pound. Last year it was \$2.10, and now it is \$2.90. The slogan of this society is "coöperate in holding your product for a certain agreed-upon price," and, all obstacles considered, remarkable success has been achieved. But now a firm of New York exporters of peppermint-oil has petitioned the president and attorney-general to break up the society as a combine in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. So the anti-trust law works both ways—only it is likely to work this way quickest.

Waverly, Minnesota.

REPRESENTATIVES of the Right Relationship League of Minneapolis have recently organized here a coöperative store and shipping company. It is to be known as the Wright County Coöperative Company and to have a capital of \$50,000. About fifty members, mostly farmers, have been secured, each furnishing \$100 of capital. After paying five per cent. on capital and setting aside a reserve-fund all profits will be divided among members in proportion to the business created by each. The company has made arrangements to buy out the stock of goods and business of C. G. Kingstedt, a successful merchant of twenty-six years' standing, who will manage the bus-

iness under the direction of the executive committee of the company. Mr. J. M. Carmichael, manager of the Ono department of the Pierce county (Wisconsin) Coöperative Company, is to take the invoice, representing the Wright County Coöperative Company on the board of appraisement. Several inquiries have already come in from merchants in other trading communities of Wright county as to terms of joining with the movement and the prospects are that within a year several stores will have united with the coöperative company.

Lindstrom, Minnesota.

THE CHICAGO County Coöperative Company organized here last August now has three stores and 225 members. The stores are located at Lindstrom, Scandia, and Chicago City. This company is organized on the Right Relationship League plan and is doing a fine business.

Grand Forks, British Columbia.

MAMMOTH meetings of the local labor-unions here have been held to consider the establishment of a coöperative store. A committee has been appointed to mature plans and definite action is expected soon.

Loomis, California.

THERE are in California about fifty successful and prosperous Rochdale Coöperative stores that are giving good service, paying good dividends to their members, and educating their members and the public in the coöperative life of democratic industry. Here is the statement made by the manager to the board of directors of the Loomis Rochdale Company for the month of November:

New members,.....	7
Total membership,.....	46
Received on share capital,.....	\$912 70
Total paid on share capital,.....	3,543 12
Unpaid share capital,.....	1,056 88
Total share capital,.....	4,600 00
Paid on share Rochdale Wholesale Company,.....	90 55
Total amount paid to Rochdale Wholesale Company,.....	368 71
Total amount purchased from Rochdale Wholesale Company and elsewhere,...	1,352 47
Membership trade,.....	637 03
Non-membership trade,.....	1,071 51
Total trade for the month,.....	1,708 54
Expense,.....	155 00

Cash on hand,.....	\$19 51
Cash in bank,.....	5,016 68
Total cash,.....	5,336 19

Selma, California.

THE FOLLOWING is the latest six-months' report of the Selma Rochdale store:

RESOURCES.	
Stock of merchandise,.....	\$6,338 57
Fixtures, delivery wagon, horse, etc.,...	1,823 55
Share in Rochdale Wholesale Company,	130 55
Personal accounts (good),.....	5,738 16
Total,	\$14,030 83
LIABILITIES.	
Members' stock shares,.....	\$4,501 14
Interest on same at 8 per cent.,.....	180 05
Borrowed money,.....	2,300 00
Interest on same to date,.....	19 10
Due wholesale houses,.....	3,545 03
Due customers for produce and money left on deposit,.....	2,159 87
Surplus, February 1, 1906,.....	222 04
Net gain in six months (after paying the \$180 interest to members),.....	1,103 60
Total,.....	\$14,030 83
Total sales for the six months,.....	19,695 09

Failure in Chicago.

THE MILWAUKEE Avenue Coöperative Store of Chicago has failed and will henceforth be quoted among the long list of similar failures kept on hand by our college professors to show the impracticability of coöperation in the United States. As a matter of fact it develops that the Milwaukee Avenue store was not coöperative, but was owned by Paul O. Stensland and closed by the receiver who sold it for \$162,000.

Topeka, Kansas.

THE Coöperative Cold Storage and Ice Plant of this city is doing a flourishing business. Over 50,000 barrels of Shawnee apples were taken in in November for later shipment

to the Southern states where the Topeka Storage apples have an established reputation.

Co-operative Telephones.

THE FARMERS' Mutual Telephone Company has been organized at Campbell, California, on purely coöperative principles, with shares at \$25 each. Forty members are enlisted and seven miles of line are up, and these figures will be doubled in another month.

Another new Coöperative Telephone Company has been organized by the people of Knightsen, Oakley, Brentwood, and Byron, adjoining towns in California. The lines are to be ready for use in January.

Co-operative Warehouse.

LINCOLN GRANGE, at Cupertino, California, is planning to erect a coöperative grading and warehousing building for prunes, of which that section produces great quantities of the finest quality.

Garden Cities in America.

THE REV. Dr. W. D. P. Bliss, for four years rector of St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Church of Amityville, Long Island, has tendered his resignation, to take effect January 1st. He will become secretary of the Garden Cities of America, an association recently formed to found and develop coöperative cities for laboring men. The movement is patterned after the Garden City Association of Great Britain, which is now building its first city at Letchworth, in Hertshire. The Association will build cities where men of small means may have attractive homes with their own gardens. President Ralph Peters of the Long Island Railway, is vice-president of the Association. On the board of managers are Bishop Burgess, Bishop Potter, and other men of prominence.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

"THE BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. THE HERALD VOICES OF THE COMING DAWN.

IF THE conscientious reformer and sincere friend of democratic institutions becomes discouraged at the seeming advance of the forces of greed and the indifference and casuistry so shamefully evident in society, the church and the press, he should turn his attention to the rapidly increasing literature of moral protest and progress that is being issued by leading American firms which a few years ago would not have seriously entertained the thought of bringing out any literature so radical as are these works, and he should also note the fact that the majority of these volumes which may be rightly characterized as the strongest writings voicing democracy and human progress of the day, are with a few noteworthy exceptions from the pen of comparatively young men. *Poverty*, by Robert Hunter; *The Menace of Privilege*, by Henry George, Jr.; *The City the Hope of Democracy*, by Frederic C. Howe; *The Reign of Gilt*, by David Graham Phillips; *In the Fire of the Heart*, Ralph Waldo Trine's latest work; *The Heart of the Railroad Problem and The Railways, the Trusts and the People*, by Professor Frank Parsons; *The Economy of Happiness*, by James Mackaye; and *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, by John Spargo, are but a few representative works in the rapidly growing literature of democratic progress and enlightened humanitarianism that clearly speaks of the rising tide of moral idealism that ever precedes the great struggles between the light and the darkness, the weal of the many and the self-interest of the privileged few. The democrats of thought ever precede the democrats of action. They are the conscience-awakeners, the voices in the wilderness of self-absorption and greed that prepare the way for the men who are to become the great actors in the pending crises. We are approaching one of these great moral conflicts in which democracy and the humane spirit will be pitted against the new despotism of privileged

wealth, and as in every preceding conflict that has been waged, where the issues have been fought in the open between fundamental justice and human rights on the one hand and privilege or class interests on the other, since the advent of democracy, so in the coming struggle the people are going to win and civilization will again see the Republic rise from the degradation of dollar-worship and the retrogression of imperialism and world-power based on force, to her old moral prestige as the world's great leader of peace and the principles of democratic enlightenment. Of the outcome we have little fear, but if that outcome is to be won in a peaceful manner it will be necessary for all friends of progressive democracy and humanitarian progress to unite and labor with the zeal of apostles in the noblest cause that ever called men and women to its standard.

II. MR. SPARGO'S IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.

In the past we have sometimes felt that the writings and criticisms of Mr. Spargo were wanting in breadth of spirit and tolerance for the thoughts of others as earnest and sincere as himself but whose point-of-view was in some respects different from his own, and it was with some misgiving that we commenced our perusal of his *Bitter Cry of the Children*. We feared that the value of the work as a volume to meet the present stage of public enlightenment might be weakened by views so extreme as to defeat in part his purpose, or that there might be present a narrow and intolerant spirit that would repel many sincere persons whose help is needed in the present battle against the crimes and greed of the privileged interests that are fattening off of child-slavery and that are indifferent to the pitiful conditions of the children of the poor in the great congested centers of wealth.

It was with genuine pleasure therefore that we found our fears groundless. This work is a masterly volume marked by a firm and comprehensive grasp of the subject which speaks of wide and painstaking research and investigation. Here, too, is clear reasoning,

*"The Bitter Cry of the Children." By John Spargo, with an introduction by Robert Hunter. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 338. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

instinct with that conscience quality that gives virility and worth to the discussion of questions that concern human well-being; yet there is no over-zeal, no intemperance of expression, nothing to suggest hysterical emotionalism. It is a volume vibrant with moral enthusiasm, a book that is clearly from the heart; yet at all times reason has ruled.

These things of course give special value to the book and make it indispensable to persons who would understand the full significance of the great issues discussed. All persons who love justice and human rights, whose hearts go out in sympathy for the unfortunate children or whose patriotism is of that high order that makes them willing and ready to battle for a truer republic and a happier civilization for the to-morrow of our people, should possess this book, because in it the subject of poverty among American children is handled in so comprehensive and broad a manner that it may be regarded as the most authoritative handbook on the subject that has appeared.

III. THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.

In a survey of such a work it is of course impossible to even summarize the subjects discussed, and it becomes necessary to confine our extended notice to some special phase presented. The subject of child-labor has been very extensively discussed in magazine literature during the past few years, while comparatively little space has been given to other tragic aspects of the question of the child in relation to poverty.

In a chapter entitled "The Blighting of the Babies," Mr. Spargo presents a powerful picture of the tragic fate of a great army of little lives in this, the richest nation on earth. He shows that "the burden and blight of poverty fall most heavily upon the child. . . . And it is the consciousness of this, the knowledge that poverty in childhood blights the whole of life, which makes it the most appalling of all the phases of the poverty problem."

"The problem of the child is the problem of the race," and more and more emphatically science declares that almost all the problems of physical, mental, and moral degeneracy originate with the child. The physician traces the weakness and disease of the adult to defective nutrition in early childhood; the penologist traces moral perversion to the same cause; the pedagogue finds the same

explanation for his failures. Thanks to the many notable investigations made in recent years, especially in European countries, sociological science is being revolutionized. Hitherto we have not studied the great and pressing problems of pauperism and criminology from the child-end; we have concerned ourselves almost entirely with results while ignoring causes. The new spirit aims at prevention.

"The cry of a child for food which its mother is powerless to give it is the most awful cry the ages have known. . . . Yet that cry goes up incessantly: in the world's richest cities the child's hunger-cry rises above the din of the mart.

"It is not, however, the occasional hunger, the loss of a few meals now and then in such periods of distress, that is of most importance; it is the chronic underfeeding day after day, month after month, year after year. . . . The thousands of rickety infants to be seen in all our large cities and towns, the anemic, languid-looking children one sees everywhere in working-class districts, and the striking contrast presented by the appearance of the children of the well-to-do bear eloquent witness to the widespread prevalence of under-feeding.

"Poverty and death are grim companions. Wherever there is much poverty the death-rate is high and rises higher with every rise of the tide of want and misery. In London, Bethnal Green's death-rate is nearly double that of Belgravia; in Paris, the poverty-stricken district of Ménilmontant has a death-rate twice as high as that of the Elysée; in Chicago, the death-rate varies from about twelve per thousand in the wards where the well-to-do reside to thirty-seven per thousand in the tenement wards.

"Dr. Henry Ashby, an eminent authority upon children's diseases, says: '*In healthy children among the well-to-do class the mortality [from measles] is practically nil; in the tubercular and wasted children to be found in work-houses, hospitals, and among the lower classes, the mortality is enormous, no disease more certainly being attended with a fatal result.* William Squires places it in crowded wards at 20 to 30 per cent. of those attacked.'

"These are terrible words coming as they do from a great physician and teacher of phy-

sicians. Upon any less authority one would scarcely dare to quote them, so terrible are they. They mean that practically the whole 8,645 infant deaths recorded from measles in the United States in the year 1900 were due to poverty—to the measureless inequality of opportunity to live and grow which human ignorance and greed have made. Moreover, the full significance of this impressive statement will not be realized if we think only of its relation to one disease. The same might be said of many other diseases of childhood which blight and destroy the lives of babies as mercilessly as the sharp frosts blight and kill the first tender blossoms of spring. The same writer says: 'It may be taken for granted that no healthy infants suffer from convulsions; those who do are either rickety or the children of neurotic parents.' And there were no less than 14,288 infant deaths from convulsions in the United States in the census year. It would probably be a considerable under-estimate to regard 10,000 of these deaths, or 70 per cent. of the whole, as due to poverty."

There is something almost startling in the diagrams presented by Mr. Spargo, showing the relative death-rate between the well-to-do class, the best-paid workers, and the worst-paid workers.

"As we ascend the social scale," observes our author, "the span of life lengthens and the death-rate gradually diminishes, the death-rate of the poorest class of workers being three and a half times as great as that of the well-to-do. It is estimated that among 10,000,000 persons of this latter class the annual deaths do not number more than 100,000, among the best paid of the working-class the number is not less than 150,000, while among the poorest workers the number is at least 350,000.

"In Boston's 'Back Bay' district the death-rate at all ages last year was 13.45 per thousand as compared with 18.45 in the Thirteenth Ward, which is a typical working-class district, and of the total number of deaths the percentage under one year was 9.44 in the former as against 25.21 in the latter. Wolf, in his classic studies based upon the vital statistics of Erfurt for a period of twenty years, found that for every 1,000 children born in working-class families 505 died in the first year; among the middle classes 173, and among the higher classes only 89. . . . Dr.

Charles R. Drysdale, Senior Physician of the Metropolitan Free Hospital, London, declared some years ago that the death-rate of infants among the rich was not more than 8 per cent., while among the very poor it was often as high as 40 per cent. Dr. Playfair says that 18 per cent. of the children of the upper classes, 36 per cent. of the tradesman class, and 55 per cent. of those of the working-class die under the age of five years."

Mr. Spargo discusses at length the statistics relating to the vast army of infants in England and America who every year come to death from "socially preventable" causes. In England he finds the "appalling total of 95,000 unnecessary deaths in a single year." In this country the record is also startling. Of the "socially preventable" causes he says:

"There can be no doubt that the various phases of poverty represent fully 85 per cent., giving an annual sacrifice to poverty of practically 80,000 baby lives. If some modern Herod had caused the death of every male child under twelve months of age in the state of New York in the year 1900, not a single child escaping, the number thus brutally slaughtered would have been practically identical with this sacrifice. Poverty is the Herod of modern civilization, and Justice the warning angel calling upon society to 'arise and take the young child' out of the reach of the monster's wrath.

"I think it can safely be said that in this country, the richest and greatest country in the world's history, poverty is responsible for at least 80,000 infants lives every year—more than two hundred every day in the year, more than eight lives each hour, day by day, night by night, throughout the year. It is impossible for us to realize fully the immensity of this annual sacrifice of baby lives. Think what it means in five years—in a decade—in a quarter of a century.

"The yearly loss of these priceless baby lives does not, however, represent the full measure of the awful cost of the poverty which surrounds the cradle. It is not only that 75,000 or 80,000 die, but that as many more of those that survive are irreparably weakened and injured. Not graves alone but hospitals and prisons are filled with the victims of childhood poverty. They who survive go to school, but are weak, nervous, dull, and

backward in their studies. Discouraged, they become morose and defiant, and soon find their way into the 'reformatories,' for truancy or other juvenile delinquencies. Later they fill the prisons, for the ranks of the vagrant and the criminal are recruited from the truant and juvenile offender. Or if happily they do not become vicious, they fail in the struggle for existence, the relentless competition of the crowded labor mart, and sink into the abysmal depths of pauperism. Weakened and impaired by the privations of their early years, they cannot resist the attacks of disease, and constant sickness brings them to the lowest level of that condition which the French call *la misère*."

He finds what many other thoughtful students of social and economic problems have long since discovered,—namely, that the vital statistics since the plutocracy has largely dominated government, fail to furnish civilization vital facts which are among the most important things for society to know. He finds that:

"If our vital statistics were specially designed to that end, they could not hide the relation of poverty to disease and death more effectually than they do now. It is impossible to tell from any of the elaborate tables compiled by the census authorities what proportion of the total number of infant deaths were due to defective nutrition or other conditions primarily associated with poverty. No one who has studied the question doubts that the proportion is very great, but it is impossible to present the matter statistically, except in the form of a crude estimate. There is much of value in our great collections of statistics, but the most vital facts of all are rarely included in them."

Here is a graphic and typical case of how poverty mothers death:

"In the great dispensary a little girl of tender years stands holding up a baby, not yet able to walk. She is a 'little mother,' that most pathetic of all poverty's victims, her childhood taken away and the burden of womanly cares thrust upon her. 'Please, doctor, do somethin' fer baby!' she pleads. Baby is sick unto death, but she does not realize it. Its breath comes in short, wheezy gasps; its skin burns, and its little eyes glow with the brightness that doctors and nurses dread. One glance is all the doctor needs;

in that brief glance he sees the ill-shaped head and the bent and twisted legs that tell of rickets. Helpless, with the pathetically perfunctory manner long grown familiar to him he gives the child some soothing medicine for her tiny charge's bronchial trouble and enters another case of 'bronchitis' upon the register. 'And if it was n't bronchitis, 't would be something else, and death soon, anyhow,' he says. Death does come soon, the white presence of its symbol hangs upon the street door of the crowded tenement, and to the long death-roll of the nation another victim of bronchitis is added—one of the eleven thousand so registered under five years of age. The record gives no hint that back of the bronchitis was rickets and back of the rickets poverty and hunger. But the doctor knows—he knows that little Tad's case is typical of thousands who are statistically recorded as dying from bronchitis or some other specific disease when the real cause, the inducing cause of the disease, is malnutrition. Even as the Great White Plague recruits its victims from the haunts of poverty, so bronchitis preys there and gathers most of its victims from the ranks of the children whose lives are spent either in the foul and stuffy atmosphere of over-crowded and ill-ventilated homes, or on the streets, underfed, imperfectly clad, and exposed to all sorts of weather."

Then again, we find through food adulterations a great number of little lives yearly sacrificed. In 1902, 3,970 samples of milk were taken from dealers in New York City and analyzed, and no less than 2,095, or 52.77 per cent., were found to be adulterated.

These facts merely serve to give the reader a faint idea of the slaughter of the infants going on all the time almost under the shadow of our mighty cathedrals and within cannon-shot of the palaces of our multi-millionaires, as it is graphically pictured by Mr. Spargo in his extended examination under the title of "The Blighting of the Babies." And from this tragic phase of the subject he passes to a consideration of the school-children.

IV. THE FATAL HANDICAP OF THE UNDER-FED CHILD IN THE BATTLE TO OBTAIN AN EDUCATION.

The essential dominance of greed or sordid materialism in society is constantly emphasized. From our President and statesmen

down to the man on the street, the mind of the age seems to measure success first and foremost by the rod of material acquisition and achievement. The moral ideals and principles that were the pillar of fire before our statesmen in the earlier days are conspicuous by their absence, save in high-sounding platitudes. Great navies, larger armies, increase in salaried officialdom, and first consideration given to the interests of the feudalism of privileged wealth,—such are the most notable phenomena in political and business life since privileged classes and the apostles of imperialism have gained control of the government. And this temper of mind is as fatal to the best interests of true civilization as it is directly and glaringly opposed to the positive teachings, the life and the deeds of the Founder of Christianity. It also accounts for the brutal indifference of society to the rights of the child and the intellectual blindness that prevents people from seeing that this indifference is suicidal to free government or permanent national greatness. Here is a tragic yet typical illustration of conditions as they are found in American urban life to-day. It is one of a vast number of similar illustrative anecdotes that might be given as emphasizing the subject in hand and forming counts in the indictment against our slothful but boasted Christian civilization:

"In a New York kindergarten one winter's morning a frail, dark-eyed girl stood at the radiator warming her tiny blue and benumbed hands. She was poorly and scantily clad, and her wan, pinched face was unutterably sad with the sadness that shadows the children of poverty and comes from cares which only maturer years should know. When she had warmed her little hands back to life again, the child looked wistfully up into the teacher's face and asked:

"Teacher, do you love God?"

"Why, yes, dearie, of course I love God," answered the wondering teacher.

"Well, I do n't—I hate Him!" was the fierce rejoinder. "He makes the wind blow, and I have n't any warm clothes—He makes it snow, and my shoes have holes in them—He makes it cold, and we have n't any fire at home—He makes us hungry, and mamma had n't any bread for our breakfast—Oh, I hate Him!"

"This story, widely published in the newspapers two or three years ago and vouched

for by the teacher, is remarkable no less for its graphic description of the thing called poverty than for the child's passionate revolt against the supposed author of her misery. Poor, scanty clothing, cheerless homes, hunger day by day,—these are the main characteristics of that heritage of poverty to which so many thousands of children are born. Tens of thousands of baby lives are extinguished by its blasts every year, as though they were so many candles swept by angry winds. But their fate is far more merciful and enviable than the fate of those who survive."

Mr. Spargo thus emphasizes a vital fact which our educators of the past have for the most part ignored, but which twentieth-century enlightened thought must take cognizance of:

"There are certain conditions precedent to successful education, whether physical or mental. Chief of these are a reasonable amount of good, nourishing food and a healthy home. Deprived of these, physical or mental development must necessarily be hindered. And poverty means just that to the child. It denies its victim these very necessities with the inevitable result, physical and mental weakness and inefficiency."

Our author estimates that at least 3,300,000 children under fourteen years of age in the United States are in a condition of poverty. His conclusions are based on a careful investigation of indicative facts and he holds that they amply justify the figures named,—that is to say, that in normal times there are not less than 3,300,000 children under fourteen years of age in poverty, and a considerably greater number in periods of commercial depression. And this condition is becoming more and more serious as swollen fortunes acquired largely by special privileges and various forms of indirection are making a comparatively few multi-millionaires while the Dead Sea of poverty is steadily enlarging its borders, bringing us face to face with the startling fact that there are "two nations within the nation,—the nation of the rich and the nation of the poor,—and that Fourier's terrible prophecy of 'poverty through plethora,' has found fulfilment in the land where he fondly dreamed that his Utopia might be realized."

A convincing array of facts and statistics are advanced to show the alarming preva-

lence of underfeeding among the children who attend school and the dire effect of this condition of semi-starvation among the young. Here are some tragic facts:

"In another school the principal told me that she had reported to the District Superintendent that of 1,000 children on the register at least 100 were underfed. She told of children fainting in school or in the yard from lack of food, and of others suffering from disorders of the bowels due to the same cause. Many of these children were pointed out in the course of several visits to the school. 'Ignorance plays a large part in the problem,' said the principal, 'but I think it is mostly poverty. When work is hard to get or there is sickness in the family, or when there is a strike, then the children suffer most, and that shows that it is poverty in most cases.'

"Soon after the foregoing investigations were made, Dr. H. M. Lechstrecker, of the New York State Board of Charities, conducted an examination of 10,707 children in the Industrial Schools of New York City. He found that 439, or 4.10 per cent., had had no breakfast at the date of the inquiry, while 998, or 9.32 per cent., exhibited anæmic conditions apparently due to lack of proper nourishment. Upon investigation the teachers found that the breakfast of each of the 998 consisted either of coffee only, or of coffee with bread only. Only 1,885, or 17.32 per cent., started the day with what Dr. Lechstrecker considered to be an adequate meal. Other independent inquiries in several cities show that the problem is by no means peculiar to New York."

Mr. Spargo then briefly sums up the results of investigations as they relate to the underfeeding of school-children.

"Summarizing, briefly, the results of this investigation, the problem of poverty as it affects school-children may be stated in a few lines. All the data available tend to show that not less than 2,000,000 children of school age in the United States are the victims of poverty which denies them common necessities, particularly adequate nourishment. As a result of this privation they are far inferior in physical development to their more fortunate fellows. This inferiority of physique, in turn, is responsible for much mental and moral degeneration. Such children are in very many cases incapable of successful men-

tal effort, and much of our national expenditure for education is in consequence an absolute waste. With their enfeebled bodies and minds we turn these children adrift unfitted for the struggle of life, which tends to become keener with every advance in our industrial development, and because of their lack of physical and mental training they are found to be inefficient industrially and dangerous socially. They become dependent, paupers, and the procreators of a pauper and dependent race.

"Here, then, is a problem of awful magnitude. In the richest country on earth hundreds of thousands of children are literally damned to lifelong, helpless and debasing poverty. They are plunged in the earliest and most important years of character formation into that terrible maelstrom of poverty which casts so many thousands, ay, millions, of physical, mental, and moral wrecks upon the shores of our social life. For them there is little or no hope of escape from the blight and curse of pauperism unless the nation, pursuing a policy of enlightened self-interest and protection, decides to save them."

V. A GLANCE AT THE TRAGIC SPECTACLE OF CHILD-SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

Space forbids our extending this study so as to consider at length the great subject of child-labor or slavery in mills, factories and mines, or the remedies proposed. These chapters are of deep and melancholy interest to the lover of justice and the more thoughtful among our patriotic people. They should arouse the most deadened conscience and stimulate to activity every man and woman who has any desire to follow in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene or to imitate the example of the fathers who founded this nation. The author points out the fact that, according to the census returns for 1900, 7,116, or a little over 13 per cent. of the workers in the glass factories of America, were children under sixteen years of age; while something of the facts and conditions that obtain in the textile industries may be gathered from the following observations:

"There are more than 80,000 children employed in the textile industries of the United States, according to the very incomplete census returns, most of them being little girls. In these industries conditions are undoubtedly worse in the Southern states than elsewhere,

though I have witnessed many pitiable cases of child-slavery in Northern mills which almost equaled anything I have ever seen in the South. During the Philadelphia textile workers' strike in 1903, I saw at least a score of children ranging from eight to ten years of age who had been working in the mills prior to the strike. One little girl of nine I saw in the Kensington Labor Lyceum. She had been working for almost a year before the strike began, she said, and careful inquiry proved her story to be true. When 'Mother' Mary Jones started with her little 'army' of child toilers to march to Oyster Bay, in order that the President of the United States might see for himself some of the little ones who had actually been employed in the mills of Philadelphia, I happened to be engaged in assisting the strikers. For two days I accompanied the little 'army' on its march, and thus had an excellent opportunity of studying the children. Among them were several from eight to eleven years of age, and I remember one little girl who was not quite eleven telling me with pride that she had 'worked two years and never missed a day.'

"One evening, not long ago, I stood outside of a large flax mill in Paterson, N. J., while it disgorged its crowd of men, women, and children employés. . . . At six o'clock the whistles shrieked, and the streets were suddenly filled with people, many of them mere children. Of all the crowd of tired, pallid, and languid-looking children I could only get speech with one, a little girl who claimed thirteen years, though she was smaller than many a child of ten. Indeed, as I think

of her now, I doubt whether she would have come up to the standard or normal physical development either in weight or stature for a child of ten. One learns, however, not to judge the ages of working children by their physical appearance, for they are usually behind other children in height, weight, and girth of chest,—often as much as two or three years. If my little Paterson friend was thirteen, perhaps the nature of her employment will explain her puny, stunted body. She works in the 'steaming room' of the flax mill. All day long, in a room filled with clouds of steam, she has to stand bare-footed in pools of water twisting coils of wet hemp. When I saw her she was dripping wet, though she said that she had worn a rubber apron all day. In the coldest evenings of winter little Marie, and hundreds of other little girls, must go out from the super-heated steaming rooms into the bitter cold in just that condition. No wonder that such children are stunted and underdeveloped!"

This is a work of vital interest, a real contribution to the conscience literature of the hour. It will appeal to the reader's sober judgment and intelligence no less than to his sense of right and his humanitarian impulses. The hope of free institutions and the preservation of national greatness depend upon the furthering of the moral reforms which the apostles of social righteousness are striving to inaugurate; and as this work deals in a convincing way with one phase of this great democratic forward movement, it should be widely circulated.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

The Land of Enchantment. By Lilian Whiting. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 348. Price, \$2.50 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

FEW AMERICAN writers of to-day are so well qualified as is Lilian Whiting for the important task of adequately picturing the splendor and beauty, the mystery and the wonder, the latent resources and the possibili-

ties, of that part of our great Republic which our author has happily termed "the land of enchantment." She has traveled extensively in foreign countries and is intimately acquainted with the glories of Switzerland and with the combined attractions of natural splendor and beauty and storied interest that make Italy for artists and poets the Mecca of the Old World. Having dwelt in Florence until the Valley of the Arno and the historic city of the di Medici and Savonarola have become as a second home, and having felt the unique

* Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, *THE ARENA*, Boston, Mass.

fascination of Venice and the witching spell which nature flings over the Neapolitan districts, she is exceptionally well-qualified to compare the wonders of the New World with the most attractive lands of Europe. But above and beyond this, she possesses the seeing eye of the poet and artist. All that is beautiful or sublime, all that is of special interest because unique or invested with mystery, legend and half-forgotten historic traditions, appeals to her with irresistible force. Moreover, she has the easy, flowing and somewhat florid style that is peculiarly pleasing in descriptive literature that deals with the wonders and glories of nature. She is preëminently an idealist, a believer in seeing all that is good and beautiful on this old planet. Furthermore, her long training as a journalist and editorial author enables her to write in a manner that appeals to the general reader, though this element of popularity, it must be confessed, takes somewhat from the value of the work as a finished literary creation of permanent value. We imagine, however, that the author's first purpose is to reach and interest the largest possible clientele and thus become helpful to tens of thousands of citizens in the enchanted lands, by teaching them to appreciate and enjoy the unmatched splendor of their home country, while also leading many of the East, who have the money and the disposition to travel, to turn their faces toward a section of the world unsurpassed in sublimity, beauty and wonder, and not devoid of historic interest. And if she succeeds even measurably in these directions the book will have been richly worth the while, quite apart from its interest and value for general readers; for to us nothing is more pitiable than the spectacle of tens of thousands of our people who, without possessing the culture and education to appreciate the historic and artistic worth of the chief centers of interest of Europe, annually flock to the Old World and pour out their wealth in foreign lands while being densely ignorant of the matchless attractions and incomparable natural splendor of our own great country.

While, however, Miss Whiting is particularly well-fitted to understand and intelligently picture the scenic beauty and historic and natural interest of the "land of enchantment," it must be said that she is less satisfactory when she describes the people and the social and political conditions of the land that has captured her imagination; for, as we have

observed, Miss Whiting is nothing if not an idealist. She has trained her mind to see the good and to dwell upon it, and just as the most pronounced realist dwells on evil conditions and social wrongs until his sense of proportion is distorted, so the extreme idealist errs in the opposite direction. Both these thinkers may be and usually are honest and earnest. They frequently tell the truth as they find it or see it, but they do not tell the whole truth; in fact, they do not as a rule search deeply for all facts or display anything like the activity in seeing the good or the evil, as the case may be, that they exhibit in searching out the facts that sustain their favorite view-point, and this fact prevents them from giving the full-orbed presentation of a question that is of vital importance to a historical survey or a comprehensive understanding of a political, social or economic condition. The historian or he who would present economic and political conditions from a democratic view-point must be fundamental in his investigations and fearlessly impartial in weighing and presenting all the facts as they exist. Any failure to do this impairs the work as a valuable contribution to historic or economic and social literature. And just here, it seems to us, is found the one weak point in Miss Whiting's otherwise charmingly instructive and valuable work.

Where there is so much space given to praise of the general living conditions—the social and economic conditions—as is found, for example, in her writings on Colorado, it is, we think, unfortunate that the defects should be dismissed with a few general observations, in view of the fact that in no state of the Union in recent years have there been more notoriously corrupt practices—ballot-box stuffing and various other kinds of evil practices that are destructive to free institutions, than have been brought to light time and again in Colorado; and in no state in the Union have the fundamental principles of free government been so recklessly trampled under foot by the governing power acting in the interests and for the enrichment of corporate wealth than in Denver and the Centennial State. And with these things so notoriously in evidence, it is, we think, extremely unfortunate that our author did not at least point out such facts as those about which there can be no difference of opinion and which are fatal to the cause of civic righteousness and the moral integrity of the people. But excepting this defect, which

comes from the author's point-of-view and her creed of daily living which she has followed for many years until it has become a working principle of life, the book is one that merits great praise for its double interest. It is as fascinating as a romance and it is crowded with facts that every intelligent person should know, but about which a large proportion of our people are for the most part ignorant. Few indeed are the writers who could present such a vast array of important information in a work without its becoming prosaic or didactic; yet here, from the opening page to the closing of the book, the reader is carried forward by a writer whose eye for beauty and soul for poetry enable her to throw a living interest over the vast array of geographical, historic and scientific facts which she presents.

The volume contains five extended chapters devoted to Colorado,—the glories of her matchless scenery, her immeasurably rich resources, her pioneers and her present population. From Colorado we pass to a consideration of "The Surprises of New Mexico" and "The Story of Santa Fé." These chapters alone would make a little volume of special value to all persons interested in archeological research and the early history of our land; for here are described at length and in a vivid and pleasing manner those strange monuments of a vanishing race—the homes of the cliff-dwellers, which may be aptly termed the American Sphinx, as up to the present time amid a bewildering mass of speculation, little of a positive or authentic character that throws light on these one-time inhabitants of the land is to be found.

More satisfactory are the remains of the monuments of the pioneer Spaniards who fared forth from Mexico in the early days and founded European settlements before the Pilgrim fathers planted the colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. The descriptions of the cliff-dwellers and the story of the early settlement of New Mexico by Europeans furnish some of the most pleasing and interesting pages of the work. As Colorado reminds the author of Italy rather than of Switzerland, so New Mexico strongly suggests Algiers.

Passing from New Mexico, ancient and modern, we enter another wonderland quite as strong in interest, yet entirely different in attractive features from either Colorado or New Mexico. Here the chief charm is found in natural phenomena, strange, unique, often

times gorgeous in the extreme, but very unlike the splendor of nature in Colorado. In order that the reader may gain some idea of Miss Whiting's literary style, and also for the value of the general survey presented, we give a few paragraphs in which she epitomizes the general charms of Arizona. It should be remembered, however, that after these generalizations the author describes in detail the wonders of the land, and that she also dwells at length on its rich mineral resources, its products, its garden-spots, its people and its prospects.

"To the traveler sensitive to the spell of a strange, unearthly beauty, Arizona prefigures itself as the country God remembered rather than as 'the country God forgot.' It is at once the oldest and the newest of the states. Its authentic and historic past antedates the coming of the Mayflower to the rocky and desolate December shores of Massachusetts, while its future flashes before one like an electric panorama outspeeding wireless telegraphy. It is the Land of Magic and Mystery. The light is a perpetual radiance, as if proceeding from some alchemy of distilled sunshine. While Colorado is the Land of Perpetual Dawn, of an heroic and poetic achievement, Arizona is the region of brooding mystery, of strange surprises.

"Every incredible thing is possible in this miracle country, where purple mountain-peaks quiver in the shimmering golden light, where ruins of remote ages stand side by side with the primitive mechanism of pioneer living, where snow-capped mountain-peaks are watched from valleys that have the temperature and the productions of the tropics."

Of the flora of the land our author observes:

"There are few regions which so attract and reward the researches of the scientist as does Arizona. The geologist, the mineralogist, the ethnologist, the archaeologist, finds here the most amazing field for apparently unending investigation and study. Nor is the botanist excluded. The flora of Arizona offers the same strange and unique developments that characterize the region in so many other directions. The cacti flourish in riotous growth. The saguaro, a giant species, frequently attains a height of forty feet. A strange spectacle it is, with its pale green body, fluted like a Corinthian column, and its co-

lossal arms outstretched, covered with immense prickly thorns and bearing purple blossoms. The century plant flourishes in Arizona. There is a curious scarlet flower, blooming in clusters, at the top of straight, pole-like stumps ten to fifteen feet in height, which terminate in luxuriant masses of scarlet blossoms and green leaves, and grow in groups of from a dozen to fifty together, producing the most fascinating color effects in the landscape."

The chapter dealing with the petrified forests is of great interest but we have space for only a few descriptive lines:

"A June day in the Petrified Forests of Arizona is an experience that can never fade from memory.

"Of the three petrified forests, each separated by a mile or two, the first is reached by a drive of some six miles, while the third is twice as far. The second is the largest and most elaborate, and in the aggregate they cover an area of over two thousand acres. The ground is the high rolling mesas, and over it are scattered, 'thick as leaves in Vallombrosa,' the jewel-like fragments of mighty trees in deposits that are the wonder of the scientist. From the huge fallen tree-trunks, many of these being over two hundred feet in length and of similar proportions in diameter, to the mere chips and twigs, the forests are transmuted into agate and onyx and chalcedony. Numbers of these specimens contain perfect crystals. They are vivid and striking in color,—in rich Byzantine red, deep greens and purples and yellow, white and translucent, or dark in all color blendings. Great blocks of agate cover many parts of the forest. Hundreds of entire trees are seen. When cut transversely these logs show the bark, the inner fiber, and veining as perfectly as would a living tree. And over all these fallen monarchs of a prehistoric forest bends the wonderful turquoise sky of Arizona, and the air is all the liquid gold of the intense sunshine."

The pages devoted to the Meteoric Mountain are as interesting and valuable as those given to descriptions of the petrified forests, while the author's pen-picture of the Grand Cañon is a particularly vivid and fine piece of descriptive writing.

Los Angeles also engages our author's

attention in a manner that cannot fail to be satisfactory to the inhabitants of the growing metropolis of southern California.

The work as a whole is a contribution of real value that will prove a charmingly delightful book to all lovers of the beautiful in nature and who would know more of the wonders of our own great land.

Chants Communal. By Horace Traubel. Cloth. Pp. 194. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

A PROSE poem, strong, uplifting, prophetic, written by Walt. Whitman's most intimate friend and literary executor. Unconventional in style, it reminds of the good gray poet without being an imitation. In some respects it surpasses Whitman at his best. It is simple, straightforward, always to the point, intense and inspiring. It is realistic, paints true to life and yet is optimistic. It repeats, but only to make impressive.

What is it all about? We glance at the table of contents and find the volume to be divided into sections with such titles as these: "Forever First of All," "God Up There Somewhere Cries," "Said the Master of Men," "When the Enjoiner is Enjoined," "You, Civilization, Who Are So Very Big," "And the Heart of the Matter is Heart," "When I see How Slow You Are," "Way Off Somewhere," and "I am Going to Laugh."

What do such titles mean? We must read what is said under one of them and find out. We select "When the Enjoiner is Enjoined," and quote perhaps a third of it:

"The air is full of injunction. It is injunction simple, injunction complex. It is injunction monosyllabic and injunction polysyllabic. If you want to do a certain thing you are enjoined. If you do not want to do it you are enjoined.

"We could get along without punishing men for murder and robbery. But we could not get along without enjoining men from the pursuit of liberty. The courts save us from ourselves. Left to ourselves we might get justice too fast. So we submit our souls to the courts. The courts say: Go slow, very slow. The courts say: Do n't go at all. For liberty does not seem impossibly far ahead. And we seem dangerously near its protectorate. Liberty would be very perilous for somebody. The somebody with something that does not

belong to him. So we must not be allowed to get within hailing distance of liberty. So we cry to the courts: Save us from ourselves. And the courts save us. The courts enjoin.

"Yet the race is never saved but it gets lost again.

"He enjoins best who enjoins last. What can you do if injunction will not enjoin? If the injuncted will not be enjoined? What can you do if injunction is laughed in the face? The people are getting quarrelsome. They are laughing at your Niagara. They threaten to hurl your waters back over the crest of the cliff again. The enjoiner may enjoin.

"The people have risen. The courts are adjourned to the court. The court is the people. The people enjoin. Ten thousand injunctions are disposed of by one injunction. You have gone on supposing there was nothing above the courts. The courts were of final resort. But the people loomed above the courts. We alone are final, said the people. The injunction seems logical as long as the people sleep. But when the people awake the injunction sinks to chaos."

From this we infer that like Whitman's *Salut au Monde* it is a poem of Democracy. As we read it through we shall perhaps conclude that it is the poem of Democracy. It is so full of quotable passages that we find it hard to leave them out, but with the author's own final optimistic stanza we close this review. He has been speaking of the darker side of the world's civilization, starvation, squalor, slavery, chain-gangs, imperialism, official corruption, jails, hells below hells; and then he asks:

"Are we to stop here? Is this the end of the journey? Is the starved child the end of the journey? Is hate, rancor, fight, the end of the journey? Is thievery the end of the journey? Are sleepless nights and sleepy days the end of the journey? Is man the enemy the end of the journey? Are we to stop here? Stop with social wrong? Stop just where we are? Disappear in this trench? Cut down in the fury of economic assault? Is this where and how the journey is to end? Is this to be the best the dream of justice can do for man? God, no! This is but a beginning. This is a bad end making way for a

good beginning. This is the moment of the lapse of eras of force in eras of love. This is the bridgeroad. This is the mysterious archway of the rainbow. This is a juncture of promise and fulfilment. This is the darkest shadow meeting the brightest light. And it all amounts to this. The worst comes before the best comes."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Lincoln the Lawyer. By Frederick Trevor Hill. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 332. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is an extremely interesting and well-written work, a contribution of real value to the already voluminous literature dealing with the life of the great Emancipator. There is one criticism which we think can be justly made. The author lays far too much stress and importance, in our judgment, on Lincoln's legal training and attributes a value to it out of all proportion to the proper relation it bears to the action of the great and single-hearted statesman. The moral idealism that dominated Lincoln, his absolute fidelity to the basic principles of fundamental democracy as he understood it, and his unswerving allegiance to the great humanitarian ideals and the cause of justice and right comprehended in the Declaration of Independence,—these more than all other things put together in our judgment enabled Lincoln to rise to the measure of the highest demands of statesmanship in the most crucial hour of the Republic's history. We do not wish to minify the value of Lincoln's legal training and experience. They doubtless were of great value to him, but they were by no means, we think, so important as our author imagines. This defect, which is perhaps not surprising in one who rivets his attention on one phase of the great man's life, is the chief criticism that can be fairly made against this otherwise valuable work.

It is well for the rising generation that the attention of our young men and women is being directed to the lives, thought and ideals of the two greatest fundamental democratic statesmen in the history of American life—Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. They were both men of the people and true at all times to the broad demands of justice and democracy as enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, and the study of their

lives cannot fail to prove of importance to the young.

Mr. Hill's volume contains twenty-five chapters in which, as the title of the work indicates, the story of Lincoln the lawyer is dwelt upon at great length. The book is finely illustrated with a number of excellent portraits.

The Election of Senators. By George H. Haynes. Cloth. Pp. 295. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

TIMELY, thorough and invaluable as a reference book is this work of Professor Haynes.

"It claims to be the first work to embrace the results of an exhaustive study of the highly important questions of the method of election of Senators. The opening chapters explain the reasons which guided the Convention of 1787 in its choice of the method of electing Senators by State legislatures, and those which led to the law of 1866. The author then shows what the results of this system of election have been: (1) on the Senate as a political institution; (2) on State and local government; and (3) on the personnel of the Senate. Next, he traces the growth of the movement for popular elections; and, finally, reviews in detail the arguments for and against a Constitutional amendment."

The subject is treated historically and the author's conclusions are clearly and convincingly stated as follows:

"If effective popular control over senatorial elections is to be won only by amending the Constitution so as to make possible the choice of Senators by direct vote of the people, would the gains from popular elections, thus secured, outweigh the losses? In the writer's opinion the answer must be yes.

"Few will be inclined to dispute that the Senate, as at present constituted, has become a seriously discredited body, and that many of its members show not a trace of any feeling of responsibility to the people. If, entirely aside from any experience with our Senate, the question could arise afresh as to the best method of electing the members of an upper house of the national legislature, in these early years of the twentieth century, no thoughtful man in the country would think of devolving

that duty upon the State legislatures. Many explanations may be set forth why this disposition was made of the election of 1787. It may be urged with force that many advantages are to be expected from an election by small bodies of picked men, and not a few objections may be advanced to amending the Constitution. Nevertheless, the man of to-day would feel instinctively that the state legislatures were unsuited to the performance of such a function, both by the conditions of their election and by the nature of their normal work of legislation. Or—to vary the hypothesis—if we had to-day a popularly elected Senate which proved subject to all evils which are predicted from popular elections, not one thoughtful man in a thousand would be found who would suggest that election by state legislatures would afford the needed remedy."

Not the least valuable feature of the book is an appendix giving a bibliography of the subject with references to all congressional actions and debates bearing upon the question of senatorial election. Those who wish to prepare themselves to fight the battles of democracy with intelligence should possess this book.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The German Empire. By Burt Estes Howard, Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 450. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THIS solid and scholarly work treats of the founding of the German Empire, the empire and the individual states, the Kaiser, the Bundersrat, the Reichstag, imperial legislation, the imperial chancellor, citizenship under the German constitution, the judicial organization of the empire, the armed forces of the empire, and several other subjects of interest. All these subjects are treated in a straightforward, simple, narrative style, and although the author deals with fundamental questions, he makes everything remarkably clear. In other words, his native American perspicacity survives and rises superior to the verbiology of German profundity. We have examined no better book for the American student of German institutions. The book is well indexed and is thus made available for ready reference.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Evolution of Immortality. By C. T. Stockwell. Fourth edition, revised and extended. Cloth. Pp. 190. Price, \$1.00 net. Boston: James H. West Company.

THIS book does not claim to demonstrate the truth of immortality but to give suggestions of it based upon our organic and life history, and its claim is thoroughly supported. It is a remarkable little book and worthy of the four editions into which it has passed.

There is no retrograde movement in nature. Everything is onward. What has been once attained is never lost. Out of the eternal hitherto have been evolved sentiency, consciousness, self-consciousness with no backward steps.

"All that is, at all,
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
What entered into thee,
That was, is, and shall be:
Time's wheel runs back or stops: Potter and clay
endure."

So out into the illimitable hereafter go all the forces of the life that now is with more to be acquired. Among those things already acquired is the individual self-consciousness and therefore individual self-consciousness is eternal. That is, this is strongly suggested, though not demonstrated.

Again, there is no sense developed without some corresponding objective reality that calls it into action. The sight would never have been developed had there been no light, nor the hearing, without sound. The longing for immortality means that there is an immortality to call it into being.

All things are spiritual. Behind all nature there is a great all-pervasive intelligent force. This force is the one reality, the material is its manifestation. Within us all is a spark of this infinite energy. This is our real self. The material body is its clothing for the time being. The spiritual, emanating from God, is the eternal part. After leaving this body it goes out to organize a new body out of something finer and more subtle—perhaps out of the ether itself, or even something more refined than this. Thus life is an endless progression. These are some of the thoughts suggested by this unusual work. Those who wish to know the utmost that science can teach on its all-absorbing theme should read the book itself and ponder well its meaning.

Says the author: "The heart of man has

always claimed its right to a continuance of personal being; and his best and deepest intuitions have ever asserted the certainty and validity of that claim. And reason, searching long and rigidly, bids the heart to a hope and trust never so well and strongly founded as to-day."

And again: "It is assumed that our ideals are real forecasts and foreshadowings, the evidence and assurance that proclaim the evolution of the future."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Fellowship Songs. Arranged and compiled by Ralph Albertson. Boards. Pp. 102. Price, 25 cents. Westwood, Massachusetts: The Ariel Press.

SELDOM has it afforded us so much pleasure to notice a book as it does to write of *Fellowship Songs*, Mr. Ralph Albertson's new compilation of songs of democracy, justice, fellowship and love, not simply because the book is worthy of very high praise, but because there has been nothing that the great reform movement of our day stands more in need of than just such a popular song-book. Heretofore there have been several attempts to bring out a book of songs that should voice the spirit of progressive democracy and the larger and juster concepts of the new time, but they have been deplorable failures. Usually their very appearance suggested that they had come from a blacksmith's shop rather than from a well-equipped printing or musical publishing house. The selection of songs was sometimes fairly good but the music was as a rule of a character that would have predestined the most artistically gotten up work to oblivion.

Time and again have earnest friends expressed the desire for a really worthy compilation of songs of democracy, human progress and upliftment that should express the nobler spirit of the age, and at last this wish has been realized; for here, in a neat little volume, words and music harmonize, and the selections are exceptionally fine, embracing a large number of the finest verses adapted to music that have come from the great popular prophetsingers of the past century. Beginning with Ebenezer Elliott, Mr. Albertson comes down to Edwin Markham, gleaming such verses as will be an inspiration to all friends of progress and popular government.

To appreciate what a galaxy of stirring

songs Mr. Albertson has included in the book one has only to hastily glance through its pages. It opens with Edwin Markham's stirring song, "My America," so rich in fine poetic imagery that one loves to ponder over the poem and feel its power and meaning and appreciate the spirit of the creation. The compiler has set it to music in keeping with the high, fine thought expressed. The second song is the Rev. Minot J. Savage's "O, Star of Truth." Then come such verses as the famous "People's Advent," by Gerald Massey; "Friends of Freedom," by James Russell Lowell; "Our Hope and Purpose," by Clarence Mackay; "God Save the People," by Ebenezer Elliott; "The Brotherhood of Man," by J. A. Edgerton; "Rise, for the Day is Passing," by Adelaide A. Proctor; "Labor," by Henry van Dyke; "All Men are Equal," by Harriet Martineau; "The Muse of Labor," by Edwin Markham; "Onward, Brothers," by H. Havelock Ellis; "The World-Soul," by Ralph Waldo Emerson; "The Steady Gain of Man," by John Greenleaf Whittier; "Swing Inward, O Gates," by James G. Clark; "Choose Ye This Day," by James Russell Lowell; "The Faith of Brotherhood," by A. G. Swinburne; "The Day of the Lord," by Charles Kingsley; "Freedom," by Alfred Tennyson; "The People's Battle Hymn," by James G. Clark; and numbers of other songs which voice the finest sentiments and aspirations of earth's largest-visioned and clearest-sighted singers.

Surely never before have the friends of progressive democracy and fraternity had brought within the compass of a single book such a collection of poetic gems, instinct with the spirit of the Golden Rule, of democracy, brotherhood and the new age.

Happily, the excellent judgment displayed by Mr. Albertson in compiling the work, which has been a labor of love that has engrossed much thought and time, is also evinced in the music to which the words are set. True, some of these songs will require a little time to master the music, but when once mastered they will appeal in a compelling manner to heart and head, and in many cases the music is truly popular and can be easily caught by the audiences.

There is not a home in America, where there is a piano or any other musical instrument and any one to play it, and where the inmates are in sympathy with the spirit of advancing democracy, that should not be

supplied with this book; and a greatly needed and important work can be unostentatiously performed by young men and women of conscience and conviction, who are able to sing or play, if they will judiciously improve opportunities that are constantly afforded by singing some of the great truths taught in these poems and songs, into the hearts of their friends.

We sincerely hope and trust that every reader of *THE ARENA* will secure this new song-book and put it to use for the cause.

The Religion of the New Testament. By Professor D. Bernhard Weiss. Cloth. Pp. 440. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

BECAUSE written by a German professor, this is supposed to be a very scholarly and valuable work. It does, indeed, show wide research and much painstaking toil of the true German type, but it is wholly unpractical and unnecessary. When one has read it through and is still in doubt as to what the religion of the New Testament really is, he may refresh his mind by turning to the Sermon on the Mount and the parable of the Good Samaritan.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Saul of Tarsus. By Elizabeth Miller. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 442. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THOSE who were fortunate to read and enjoy Miss Miller's fine story, *The Yoke*, with its vivid pictures of Egyptian civilization and its deep human interest, will look forward with pleasure to the perusal of her new novel, *Saul of Tarsus*, and they will not be disappointed; for Miss Miller is not only a conscientious worker who studies the history of the times of which she writes until she is able to bring them before readers in the realistic manner of one who has actually seen and felt that which is described, but she also possesses the instinct for strong and dramatic situations, so that her stories hold the attention from cover to cover.

Saul of Tarsus is a story of the early Christians. The scenes are laid in Jerusalem, Damascus, Alexandria and Rome. Although Saul only appears but a few times, it is his spirit which dominates the book and influences the action of the principal characters. Mar-syas, the hero, is a young postulant of the

Essenes, a friend of Stephen and also of Saul. When Saul's zeal for Judaism leads him to bring about the death of Stephen, Marsyas turns against him and in the future directs all his efforts to bringing about his downfall. He meets Herod Agrippa, at that time a fugitive debtor in Jerusalem. Herod is in need of money, Marsyas is in need of the help which Herod will be able to render him if once his debts are paid. The two join forces, and a deep and true affection springs up between them. Marsyas is working to accomplish his revenge; Agrippa to attain the ambitious desire of his heart. The exciting and complicated events growing out of this condition of affairs form the groundwork for a strong and fascinating romance. There is a charming love-story running through the novel, in which the beautiful daughter of the Jewish alabarch of Alexandria and Marsyas are the principals, and which finally terminates happily after many vicissitudes.

Many readers will perhaps think that Miss Miller paints the character of Herod Agrippa in too rosy colors, and some will perhaps feel that she has at times sacrificed the dignity of the story by introducing incidents which savor of the melodramatic. Her description of Saul's crowning experience on the road to Damascus, it seems to us, takes from the strength of the story. Such an incident can only be successfully handled by a writer of surpassing genius. These defects, however, are not pronounced enough to seriously mar the work, which is one of the most interesting and well-written novels of the year.

One of the best pieces of character delineation in the book is the passage in which we catch our first glimpse of Saul the fanatic, later to become the great apostle to the Gentiles:

"Over his countenance was a fine assumption of humility curiously inconsistent with a consciousness of excellence which made an atmosphere that could be felt. Yet, holding first place over these conflicting attributes was the stamp of tremendous mental power, and a heart-whole sweetness that was irresistible. The union of these four characteristics was to produce a man that would hold fast to theory, though all fact arise and shouted it down; who would maintain form, though the spirit had in horror long since fled the shape. Thus, inflexibly fixed in his convictions, he was unlimited in his capacity for

maintaining them. In short, he was a leader of men, a zealot, a formalist and an inquisitor—one of great mentality dogmatized, of great spirit prejudiced, of immense capabilities perverted.

"Such was Saul of Tarsus."

AMY C. RICH.

The Spirit of the Orient. By George William Knox. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 312. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

PROFESSOR KNOX holds that since the discovery of America no one event has been so freighted with momentous meaning to the world as the present awakening of the East; and no people in the Occident should be more profoundly alive to the meaning of this awakening than the citizens of our Republic. Our vast Western seaboard with its rapidly growing commerce will ere long make our business relations and interests as commanding in importance in Asia as they are to-day in Europe. More than this:

"Already we face a situation of world-wide importance, for we are attempting a new experiment. European powers have established empires in the East repeatedly, ruling over vast populations by force. Some of these empires have been benevolent and some have been greedy and unscrupulous, but in all alike the fundamental principle has been government by a superior race through force.

"In our Asiatic possessions we are adopting a different course, as the principles of the American nation are government by the people and for the people. We proclaim these principles in our dependencies, and we are attempting to introduce universal education in preparation for their practical application. On every side we are told by experienced observers that this is an impossibility, for the people of the East must be governed, they cannot rule themselves, and that we are trying to graft our ideas upon a stock which cannot receive them. If this be so, not only will our present experiment be a failure, but our own political principles must be modified. Instead of asserting the government is of the people, we shall be obliged to add when the people are of Anglo-Saxon descent. At present, however, we are not convinced by the testimony of these experienced observers, but we are determined to persevere in our experiment."

The author of this work has spent years in the Orient studying in a broad and sympathetic manner the life, aspirations and viewpoint of the great civilizations of the Far East, and he indicates in a striking manner the great points of difference between the various peoples of the Orient,—the Mohammedans of the West, the Indians, the Chinese, the Japanese and other peoples who inhabit that vast continent which constitutes one-third of the solid surface of the globe. He wisely confines his study to the three great peoples,—the Indians, the Chinese and the Japanese. More than this, he recognizes that in the compass of his volume the most that he can do effectively is to note the spirit of the people. It is therefore a study of the heart or soul of the great civilizations of Eastern and Southern Asia, made by a brilliant and penetrating thinker, gifted with the judicial or impartial spirit to a degree rarely found in the present day. Moreover, Professor Knox possesses the philosophic temper which enables him to enter into sympathetic rapport with the different and divergent views of the various civilizations, races and peoples he is considering. He can understand the view-point of the Indian, the Chinaman and the Japanese no less than that of the great representative spirits of the Western nations; and finally, he is broad enough to be perfectly fair in presenting the view-points of all the representative Orientals,—something that has not often been done by Western scholars. These things alone would give the work a high place among the volumes that aim to present fair estimates of the Orientals and their ideals, or to helpfully inform the Western reader on the most vital and fundamental facts relating to the civilizations of Asia. But in addition to these things, our author possesses a style of exceptional charm, which, if the work were far less able and authoritative than it is, would still render it a most engaging volume.

In his treatment of the subject, Professor Knox presents "The American Point-of-View," and follows this by an equally comprehensive presentation of "The Asiatic Point-of-View." This clears the way for the more intelligent and detailed investigations and considerations of the subject which follow, and in which are discussed India, its people and customs, its spirit and problems; China, its people and customs, its spirit and problems; and Japan, its people and customs, its spirit and problems. The concluding chapter is

entitled, "The New World," and deals very thoughtfully with the significance of the victory of Japan over Russia and the probable result of the great awakening now in progress.

This work is, in our judgment, the best volume on the subject that has appeared and it is a book that all thinking Americans should read, for more than any other Occidental writer, Professor Knox, it seems to us, has given a luminous pen-picture of the vital points of contrast, the lights and shadows, or the strong and weak points, in the civilizations of India and China. The chapters on Japan, also, are most admirable. No one who wishes an intelligent grasp of the great Eastern problem should fail to read *The Spirit of the Orient*.

How to Speak in Public. By Grenville Kleiser. Cloth. Pp. 533. Price, \$1.25 net. Postage, 15 cents. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

It is a pleasure to recommend this invaluable volume to all persons interested in public reading and speaking, and to students in general who would improve the speaking voice. It is by far the most practical manual on oratory and public speaking in general we have seen. Most works that deal with elocution, oratory and dramatic expression are so given over to fine-spun theories and more or less abstract, not to say abstruse, expressions, that they confuse the mind and are of little practical use to the busy student with only a limited amount of time at his disposal. Not so with this volume. The author was formerly instructor in elocution in the Yale Divinity School, and is at present instructor in elocution in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and in other well-known educational institutions.

The volume is divided into four parts, devoted to "The Mechanics of Elocution," "Mental Aspects," "Public Speaking," and "Selections for Practice."

In the first division, we have a luminous and readily comprehensible treatise on "Breathing and Vocal Hygiene," "Vocal Expression," "Voice Culture," "Modulation" and "Gesture." The second division is devoted to "Pausing," "Emphasis," "Inflection," "Picturing," "Concentration," "Spontaneity," "Conversation," "Simplicity," "Sincerity," "Aim and Purpose," "Confidence," "Earnestness," and "The Emotions." The discussions of these various divisions are followed by apt examples which illustrate and quickly

fix the important facts in the student's mind.

In the third division, which is devoted to "Public Speaking," the physical, mental and moral requisites are classified and discussed in a manner at once pleasing and convincing. The author at all times goes to the heart of the matter in hand, and presents his subject in so practical a way that the student must be dull indeed if he fails to quickly grasp and assimilate the really important and basic truths relating to oratory and reading or speaking in general. In the third department are found most admirable suggestions and rules for "Preparation of the Speech," "Divisions of the Speech," and "Delivery of the Speech."

Part four contains over sixty selections for practice, embracing master-pieces of oratory, ancient and modern, made with rare judgment and discrimination.

This work as a whole is so excellent we feel it would be difficult to overstate its value to serious students.

Golden-Rule Jones. By Ernest Crosby. With Frontispiece Portrait of the late Samuel Milton Jones. Cloth. Pp. 62. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: The Public Publishing Company.

THE MATTER contained in this little volume was originally published in *The Craftsman* and has since been revised by the author before being issued in its present form. It deals with different phases of the life of the late Samuel Milton Jones, the Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo, and consists of seven brief chapters entitled "In Business," "In Politics," "On the Bench," "Letters of Love and Labor," "His Economics," "Poetry," and "His Death."

Mr. Crosby has brought us into close touch with this unique figure in modern business and political life. He has given us an intimate comprehensive picture of the ideals and achievements of Mr. Jones. The big-hearted employer who regarded all men as his brothers and who loved his workmen as if they had been his children; the just and humane police magistrate who looked below the surface to find the underlying causes which brought the unfortunates before him; the clear-sighted economic thinker with his firm belief in the common people and their ability to govern themselves; the Mayor who insisted on ruling the city according to the ethics of the Golden Rule and not along the lines of party politics, are all brought clearly before the reader in

Mr. Crosby's simple and pleasing manner. It is a volume that all reformers will value.

AMY C. RICH.

Half a Rogue. By Harold MacGrath. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 440. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THE well-to-do young man of good family who enters politics to reform them has become a favorite character with popular novel-writers during the past year. In the present volume the hero, a successful playwright, attempts to run for mayor of his home city, in opposition to the forces of the boss of the community. He is however defeated by a small majority and we are left to infer that his political career is at an end. The situations are not particularly new or striking, and as a picture of present-day political conditions in American cities is not up to the level of many other recent novels dealing with the same subject, notably *The Romance of John Bainbridge*, *The District Attorney* and *The Common Lot*.

There is a pretty love-story which terminates happily and some of the characters are very well drawn, especially Patty Bennington, the heroine, John Bennington, her brother, and Mrs. Franklyn-Haldene, a sort of second villain in the story.

As stated above, there is nothing new and striking about the story as a study of American life; while as a romance pure and simple it is far inferior to *The Man on the Box*.

AMY C. RICH.

Where the Rainbow Touches the Ground. By John Henderson Miller. Cloth. Pp. 256. Price, \$1.00. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

WE DO NOT share the high opinion of this story which the publishers seem to entertain nor can we agree with them that the author is a writer of exceptional power. The story is so wildly and absurdly impossible in many respects that the interest that it might otherwise inspire is lost for those who demand that the canons of probability be observed in fictional writing. The ethical tone of the work is good and the lessons of practical value, impressed or dwelt upon in the course of the story, in which we note the gradual unfolding of the character of Bobbett Patterson, the reformed drunkard, are excellent. There is also a love romance which develops as the story proceeds.

SOME GOOD BOOKS FOR CHILDREN.

The Hunt of the White Elephant. By Edward S. Ellis. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 348. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

MR. ELLIS is probably the most popular of that class of writers of tales for boys in which for many years Mr. Adams, better known as "Oliver Optic," enjoyed acknowledged preëminence. All of Mr. Ellis' tales possess the elements that appeal to the imagination of the young, while the ethical teachings which they inculcate are usually high and fine. Thus in a very positive manner they are of value in taking the place of the vicious, feverish and crime-breeding dime novels, detective libraries and other cheap literature that has long flooded the country. It is to be regretted, however, that the price of Mr. Ellis' stories is so high as to place them beyond the reach of many boys.

The story of *The Hunt of the White Elephant* is one of Ellis' very best tales, being written in a spirited manner and replete with exciting adventures so dear to the vivid and hungry imagination of the child. The hero and a Christian native start out to capture one of the sacred white elephants for which the King of Siam has offered an enormous price. There is a highly exciting hunt for a man-eating tiger, which is turned into a hunt on the part of the tiger for the hunters. This, however, is but one of numerous perils which are encountered by the lad, not only from wild beasts, but also from the reptiles and crocodiles. The white elephant is finally caught, but it is stolen by the natives and the search is renewed. Finally, however, the precious beast is retaken and subjugated.

Meg and the Others. By Harriet T. Comstock. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 150. Price, 75 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS is a delightful little story-book for small girls. In it a lovable grandmother tells on a series of evenings a number of episodes in the life of a very human little girl and her boy companion, beginning with the little heroine when she makes her first successful attempt to walk, and ending—well, a long time later. The story turns out to be a series of episodes in the life of the grandmother and the boy who is none other than the loved grandfather. Seldom have we read a sweeter or

more natural and wholesome tale for little folks of from six to ten years of age than this charming story of *Meg and the Others*.

Joey at the Fair. By James Otis. Cloth. Pp. 190. Price, 75 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS story and the others in T. Y. Crowell's admirable Juvenile Series are for readers much younger than those for whom Mr. Ellis writes. They are most admirable works for children of from six to ten. *Joey at the Fair* is a delightfully natural tale of a lad in an American farm-home where the hero, his father, mother and little sister all live the normal if rugged life of tillers of the soil. The boy is given a little heifer calf to raise, and by taking the greatest pains with the animal and treating it with a degree of love which only a child of fine nature can bestow upon a dumb animal, the young creature develops to be the finest calf in the district. Finally the boy conceives the plan of taking her to the fair, but before this great, and as it proves, proud, event of his life, many interesting things happen, especially after an aunt from the city and her son arrive for a visit. The tale is well told and cannot fail to be the source of much pleasure to young readers.

The Magic Wand. By Tudor Jenks. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 110. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

WE KNOW of no modern writer of fairy tales and wonder stories for the little folks who can compare with Tudor Jenks, and in *The Magic Wand* are three stories that ought to find great favor with children who have revelled in *The Arabian Nights*. *The Magic Wand*, *The Sultan's Verse* and *The Boy and the Dragon* are exceedingly charming tales, very bright and at times rich in humor.

In the first story the wizard of the kingdom leaves his home to confer with the King, and forgets his Magic Wand. His little four-year-old child gets hold of it and works all manner of mischief and of wonder before he is relieved of the all-powerful mace.

The Sultan's Verse tells of how a child by being honest and truthful at the risk of his life wins the heart and favor of the Sultan and becomes Grand Chamberlain of the realm; while the third tale deals with a princess imprisoned by a steel-clad dragon, and how a lad rescued her.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SPECIAL NOTICE: There are at the present time three great movements that relate to fundamental democracy, to pure government and to the securing to the producers and consumers of what are their rights but which have long been denied them through the extortions of trusts and corporations on the one hand and the wasteful old competitive system on the other. These movements are Direct-Legislation, Public-Ownership of Public Utilities, and Voluntary Coöperation. Naturally they are engaging more and more the attention of thinking men and women throughout the Republic, but nowhere are there to be found any publications which are monthly giving a full and complete digest of all the important news relating to these different fundamental constructive measures for popular government and the happiness and prosperity of all the people. We have for some time contemplated three departments in *THE ARENA* which should give each month an authoritative survey of the field covered by these important movements, so that all persons interested in them could be able to find in a short compass the salient facts relating to each; but we were not willing to announce our plans till we could perfect arrangements that would ensure the successful carrying out of the programme. Now, however, it affords us great pleasure to announce that we have perfected such arrangements and beginning with this issue we shall publish a monthly digest of the news of Direct-Legislation, prepared by Mr. RALPH ALBERTSON, Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule and Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League. Mr. ALBERTSON, who is also Secretary of the Co-operative Association of America, will prepare the news relating to Coöperative movements in America which will monthly appear in *THE ARENA*. Beginning with the March number we shall present monthly a digest of the news of public-ownership of public utilities, compiled, edited and arranged expressly for *THE ARENA* by Professor FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D., one of the leading authorities on public-ownership in the English-speaking world. The positions occupied and the work accomplished by Professor PARSONS and Mr. ALBERTSON entitle them to be ranked as leading specialists in the fields of work in which they are thus engaged, and their relation to the great works of which they write enables them to secure data from all sections that it would be difficult for others to obtain. These departments will immensely enhance the value of *THE ARENA* for all students of progressive democracy and justice and fraternity in public, business and individual life.

David Graham Phillips' Brilliant Exposé of Secretary Root and the Uncovering of the Serpent in the Fair Egg the Secretary Presented in his Famous

Speech: In the Revolutionary war the patriot cause suffered most severely and at times was in deadly peril by reason of the Tories in our own land, who ever secretly worked in behalf of the British while frequently making the most effusive and fair-sounding protestations of loyalty to the patriot cause. So to-day the cause of free government or progressive and rational democracy has no greater foe to contend against than those persons who like Mr. Root have amassed fortunes in the defense of criminals and in the service of lawless corporations, but who from time to time appear to espouse the cause of the people. To-day a large majority of our most brilliant intellects of the land are in the employ of trusts, corporations and privileged classes whose interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the nation and the people, and all the cunning wiles of the master-brains who are willing to subordinate the voice of conscience to the greed for gold, are being employed in behalf of the plutocracy. It is well for the Republic that there is coming to the front on every hand a band of well-educated, brilliant and trained young men—many of them journalists who have the keenness of mental penetration which marks the intellectual prostitutes who have grown old in the service of the enemies of the Republic, but who have not only intellectual brilliancy but also moral courage and that high order of patriotism that will not permit them to betray the people's cause or the principles of free government for any bribe that plutocracy can offer. Among this coterie whose members largely bear the fate of the Republic in their hands, we know of no one whose intellectual penetration is keener or whose moral courage is more pronounced than DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS, and never, we think, has his searching intellectual power been more clearly displayed than in his masterly paper contributed to this issue of *THE ARENA*.

Germany's Experience With Her Railways: In the December *ARENA* we opened the immensely valuable series of papers on The Railways of Europe, contributed to this review by Professor FRANK PARSONS after an exhaustive personal investigation of the railways, embracing two trips to Europe and covering many months of patient toil. Germany's experience, like Switzerland's, proves the great benefits to the nation and to the people derived from public-ownership. We earnestly urge all our readers to carefully peruse these important papers and then loan them to honest-minded friends. A great work can thus be accomplished by each citizen in hastening the day when the Republic shall be wrested from the greed-controlled corporocracy that are prostituting government, school expense for the enrichment of a small class at

of national virtue and of the prosperity all the people.

Maxim Gorki on the American Billionaire: We give this month MAXIM GORKI's impression of the American billionaire, translated from the German expressly for THE ARENA by Mr. NEWELL DUNBAR. It is pregnant with suggestive thoughts that are timely at present when the claims of manhood are battling with the arrogant claims of the dollar-worshippers who seek to exalt profits above the rights of man, woman and child, even though in so doing they would destroy civilization and debauch humanity.

Photography: Its True Function and Its Limitation: We think our readers will take great pleasure in the beautiful selections from photographs that accompany our paper on photography. Especially will they prize the fine portraits of the poet MILLER, and of the eminent sculptor WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE, both contributors to THE ARENA, and the fine portrait of SARGENT, the great painter, as well as the pictures of other distinguished personage. They will also enjoy the finely-executed photographs representing well-known paintings. In this article we have striven to present what we conceive to be the true function and the limitations of the photographic art.

Justice Clark on Constitutional Changes Demanded to Bulwark Democratic Government: Mr. DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS has shown in this issue how necessary it is to guard the Constitution against the assaults of those who have no right to ignore or seek to discredit that great instrument. It is of the utmost importance that every good citizen should strenuously oppose any unconstitutional act on the part of any citizen, be he President, judge, legislator or civilian, but it is equally clear that the great instrument calls for revision to meet the present demands of democratic government and to check the aggressions of an arrogant, corrupt and determined plutocracy which is striving to destroy the life of free institutions while preserving the shell of a republican government. These changes, however, must be made, as Justice CLARK points out, by the people, the source and fountain of all power in a democratic republic. The Constitution can only be revised or changed by the people, and any attempt by officials to discredit its provisions, until the people make such revision, is a blow dealt at the vitals of the Republic. But this fact, important as it is, must not blind us to the other imperative truth,—that the time has arrived when the great instrument should be thoroughly revised. Justice CLARK in one of the most masterly arguments that has been made clearly shows this important need. The changes he suggests are vitally important and would make for the advance of democracy, the purity of government and the happiness and prosperity of all the people; but in our judgment the great jurist has omitted the most important and

imperative demand—that of the Initiative, the Referendum and the Right of Recall. Add these to the list given by Judge CLARK, and we have a programme that we could triumphantly carry in almost every state in the Union, in spite of the united power, resources and wealth of the enemies of the Republic.

Spoils and the Civil Service: In this issue we publish the first part of FRANK VROOMAN's thoughtful discussion of *Spoils and the Civil Service*. A republican government should be a growing organism. It should be ever on the alert to detect the approach of deadly enemies and the stealthy advance of evils that hold the seeds of disease for the body politic. The failure of attempts at republican government in the past have been largely due to indifference on the part of the people and the neglect of the people's servants to meet changed conditions with measures that would check or destroy evils before they become more powerful than government. This is one of the lessons that should be burned into the consciousness of all our people at the present time of civic awakening. The civil service laws are excellent as far as they go, but they should be extended and severe penalties prescribed for any infraction of the laws.

Joaquin Miller in Boston: In our sketch of the Poet of the Sierras in Boston and in the thought-provoking conversation by Mr. MILLER on Boston and New York, we are able to give our readers a new picture of the brilliant and gifted poet and philosopher showing him exactly as he appears today. From his own words our friends will see that Mr. MILLER's thought was never more virile or suggestive than it is at present. Next month we shall give a conversation with the poet in which he gives a comprehensive outline of his great new poem, a romance of wedded life.

Paying Children to Attend School: Some months ago Mr. WILLARD FRENCH discussed in a very suggestive manner the subjects of pensioning the young and the old. In this month's ARENA Professor OSCAR CHRISMAN, Ph.D., of Ohio University, writes in advocacy of paying children to attend school. There is a growing determination on the part of an ever-increasing number that the children shall be so guarded that they can live a natural life and receive the benefits and blessings of a good education, not only because it is the right of the child and for his good, but also because it is vitally important to the Republic of to-morrow that such provisions be made for every child reared within its borders. And there is also a growing sentiment that the man who has grown old in faithful service of society should be pensioned by society, that his declining years may be robbed of the terror of poverty, privation and want. New Zealand has led the way in pensioning her aged citizens, and England in all probability will soon follow the example of the New England of the Antipodes.